THE SCOTTISH SONNET AND RENAISSANCE POETRY

by

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CHAPTER SIX

THE SONNET SEQUENCES

WILLIAM FOWLER

BIOGRAPHY

William Fowler, the first of the Scottish sonneteers to compose a continuous love sequence in the manner of Petrarch, was born in 1560. This fact can be gathered from a document written on the 2nd June 1581, in which he remarks that "the 21st yeir of my birth (is) not yit expyrit."[1] He was one of five children born to William Fouler, a burgess of Edinburgh. As his sister Susanna was William Drummond of Hawthornden's mother, Fowler, apart from his own poetic achievements was the uncle of the finest Scottish poet of the period.[2] Indeed when Drummond came south to London, before embarking for the continent and his legal studies, it was Fowler who introduced him to the court circle.[3]

In 1572, Fowler's father died. The poet seems to have continued his studies despite this tragedy, for his name appears in the first year roll at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews in 1574 and

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1. The document concerned is "An Answer to the Calumnious Letter and Erroneous Propositiouns of an Apostate named M. Io. Hammiltoun", in The Works of William Fowler, ed. H. W. Meikle, J. Craigie and J. Purves, Scottish Text Society, 3 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1914-40), II, 29.

2. See for Fowler's descendants, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, Vol. 1 passim. E. Margaret Thompson, "The Daughter of Anne of Denmark's Secretary", Scottish Historical Review, XIX (1921), pp. 21-32. University of Edinburgh, Laing MS No. 494 (his father's will).

3. David Masson in Drummond of Hawthornden (London, 1873) adopts this view, "He took London on his way. He was there, or in the vicinity, it appears, for some considerable time in 1606, staying probably with his uncle Fowler, who had retained his secretaryship to Queen Ann ..." p. 11.

again as a graduate in 1578.[1] It was then the custom to culminate one's studies with a visit to the continent and Fowler accordingly went to Navarre with the intention of studying civil law. While there he became involved with a group of exiled Scottish catholics, who were trying to persuade their fellow countrymen back into the bosom of the mother church. On a visit to the house of Lord Arbroath in Paris during 1581, he found two of this group being entertained. One of them, a Jesuit called John Hay had lately published a book called 'Certaine Demandes concerning the Christian Religion', in which he distinguished between the 'representation' and 'adoration' of images. The poet challenged this by citing the example of two blind men praying to the image of St. Germain's Port. Hay, it is recorded, could find no answer, but Hamilton, a later rector of the University of Paris threatened violence, shouting:

I sal pluk your luggs, I sal ding out your harnes.

As a result of this, Fowler was later attacked with batons and dragged to the forecourt of the college of Navarre, where he was abused and stoned.[2]

The poet soon returned to Scotland, where he composed a reply to Hamilton's latest attack on him. In this 'Answer to a Calumnious Letter and erroneous propositions of an apostat named M. Io. Hammiltoun', Fowler recounts how he was "compelled to leaue

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1. J. Maitland Anderson, Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 175, 179, 285.

2. Fowler, Works, III, xii, xiii. Also Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century, ed. Thomas Graves Law, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1901). It is difficult to believe that a trained Jesuit would be defeated by so simple an example. Indeed the whole account is probably exaggerated.

france, be ye cruell persuit of papists" and physically assaulted by Hamilton and "thirteen debauchit scollers".[1] His experiences allied to a firm calvinism led him to become a Protestant spy, at that very time when Montgomerie was siding with the forces of the counter-reformation. He seems to have been effective in this position only for a short while, as his technique was to pose as a Catholic sympathiser, and naturally his past history made this seem unlikely.

Still, when Archibald Douglas, charged with the murder of Darnley, escaped in 1580, Fowler writes to Walsingham that he has befriended the fugitive. This situation had been brought about by a clever piece of counter-espionage on Walsingham's part. Fowler had gone to London to see Mauvissière, the French ambassador, and claim expenses owed to his father by Mary Queen of Scots. For this he had ostensibly been put in prison by the Protestant authorities. For a while the Catholics were deceived, believing that his unfair treatment had made Fowler faithful to them, and from 1580 to 1584 he proved of great use to the Protestant cause. In November 1582 for example he was able to tell Walsingham of Mary's doubts regarding Douglas's loyalty, while in 1583 he learned from Mauvissière that La Mothe Fénelon's visit to Scotland was only to keep the auld alliance ticking over, not to begin a conspiracy against England.[2]

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1. 'Answer to Hammiltoun', op.cit., p. 13.

2. For this period in Fowler's spying activities, see Calendar of Scottish Papers, (1581-83), VI, 196, 229, 244, 245, 250, 256, 262, 264, 265, 342, 244, 276, 432, 433, 440, 442, 443, 444, 446, 450, 451, 452, 464, 473, 476, 477, 478, 480, 481, 489, 490, 491, 526, 569, 688.

Gradually, however, his position became more and more difficult. The Catholics ceased to trust him and in May 1583, La Mothe Fénelon openly accused him of being a Huguenot at heart. At the same time Fowler wrote bitterly to Walsingham of distrust among former Protestant friends, because of his double rôle:

> My mother and friends have conceived a great displeasure against me, and have written to me that the ministers who liked well of me are not well contented with my acquaintance and proceedings with the French ambassador and Scottish Queen.[1]

Mistrusted by Protestants and Catholics alike, he was now held in low esteem by his employers as well, for no valuable information came from a spy, whose Catholicism was doubted. In 1584 Walsingham refers to him as "an underminer", whose letters are "of no great importance".[2] Not surprisingly his spying activities came to a halt around this period, and he began to gain influence in another way.

As the need to disguise his Protestantism was now removed, he once more befriended the current champion of that faith, the Earl of Bothwell. To him he had earlier dedicated the 'Answer to Hamilton' and now the nobleman became Fowler's patron. In 1584 he gave the poet the pastorship of Hawick, that post which Gavin Douglas had held in the previous century.[3] Fowler thus became one

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1. Ibid., p. 480.

2. Calendar of Scottish Papers (1584-5), VII, 258. In the same volume pp. 239, 300 shed light on Fowler's dealings with Walsingham at this time.

3. Register Privy Council of Scotland, (1630-2), IV, 520. See also Register of Assignations MS, Register House, Edinburgh, for his first recorded stipend. The Earl of Bothwell concerned was Francis, nephew of Mary Queen of Scots' third husband.

of the laymen placed by James in ecclesiastical property, on the condition that they remain subservient to the crown. His loyalty to Bothwell, however, never wavered. In 1586 he accompanied the Earl south to arrange an alliance with England, hoping thus to strengthen the forces of Protestantism.[1] When Bothwell indulged in his irresponsible attacks on the crown during the period from 1591 to 1594, it seems that Fowler was one of the few who remained loyal, for in the list of his works, he includes, 'Defensis of Bothuel in natur of Fables'.[2] This MS has never been discovered, and may indeed have been destroyed in view of its semi-treasonous content. Its loss is doubly unfortunate, for it would have given definite proof of Fowler's loyalty to his patron as well as possibly providing a sixteenth century counterpart to the Moral Fabillis of Henryson.

As one of James's lay supporters however, the way was open for Fowler to make the subtle change from being a feigned ally of Mary to becoming a real ally to her son. He was destined to do this from the queen's side. His father had been Treasurer of the French revenue to Mary, and so he was not without influence at court. When the marriage negotiations with Denmark began he was appointed official observer for the burgh of Edinburgh, responsible for making sure that the city's rights were observed. In 1589 he travelled to Denmark with Maitland and the Earl Marischal to finalise arrangements. There he impressed the nobles with his

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1. Calendar of Scottish Papers, (1585-6), VIII, 452.

2. See Hawthornden MS, vol. xi, f 107a.

efficiency and Alexander Hay comments in a letter written at the time to William Asheby, that when Maitland and the Earl fell out over who should have precedence, Fowler was in the confidence of both of them. When the marriage did take place in November of that year, it came as little surprise, that William Fowler was appointed Master of Requests and Secretary Depute to Queen Anne. In order that she would not feel too strange in her new environment, a Dane called Calixtus Schein held the post of Secretary, but when in 1593 he returned to Denmark, it was the poet who took his place.[1]

The year before this he had gone abroad and appears to have enrolled at the University of Padua. This began his interest in Italian literature and resulted in his becoming acquainted with Sir Edward Dymok, a patron of many Italian men of letters. When he returned to England to take up the duties of Secretary, he did not allow his literary connections with Italy to be broken and in July of that year a Venetian bookseller named Ciotti acknowledges receipt of half a bale of books from him.[2] The increasing Italian element in Fowler's verse compared to that of James or Montgomerie is almost certainly due to this stay in Italy and the friendships there forged.

His early years as Secretary were most successful. In 1594 he supervised the baptism of Henry, later Prince of Wales, devising with the help of the Earl of Lindores all the preliminary pageants and banquets. In a 'True Reportarie of the Baptisme of the Prince

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1. See Register of Privy Seal v. lxvi, f 78v. Parliamentary Papers, 1886, vol. 37, Deputy keeper's 47th report. Comptroller's Accounts for 1590.

2. Hawthornden MS, vol. xiii, f 85.

of Scotland' Fowler describes the "martial pasttimes", which opened the celebrations. James himself took part, preceded by a page bearing his emblem - a lion's head with its eyes open, symbolising fortitude and vigilance. His team was opposed by three Amazons whose pages carried respectively the emblems of a crown (power of God), an eye (God's providence) and a portcullis (God's protection). This symbolic tourney was greatly appreciated, but the second day's festivities were cancelled much to Fowler's disgust. He had arranged for the knights to ride on various unusual creatures, including a unicorn and a dragon. The decision to omit this item, possibly because Bowes, the English ambassador had still not arrived, annoyed Fowler intensely. He had put a lot of work into the pageant and his was the frustration of a producer who is told at the last minute that his constantly rehearsed masterpiece will not be performed.[1]

The baptism by way of contrast was a simple, dignified function. The child was presented by the Countess of Mar, his names pronounced three times by the Lyon, King of Arms and a ducal crown placed on his head by James. After this came a banquet of unsurpassed lavishness. Fowler had arranged for the dessert to be drawn in on a chariot by a blackamoor, and served by six ladies representing Ceres, Fecundity, Faith, Concord, Liberality and Perseverance. The main course was set out on a ship eighteen feet long and forty feet high. It seemed to move in of its own volition, but Fowler

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1. Fowler, Works, II, 165-179. "A True Reportarie of the Baptisme of the Prince of Scotland", "Bot, as I say, some arrysing letts empesched this conceate, and al other things wer cast aff that might haue forder decored this solemnytie through some other urgent occasions", p. 179.

will not explain the technique behind this illusion, "the invention being the kings". The course was served by sirens on the ship, whose sails bore the crests of Scotland and Denmark. After the food had been consumed the 128th psalm was sung in seven parts and the ship departed. A dessert followed and the festivities concluded at three o'clock in the morning.[1]

Unfortunately a number of unforeseen circumstances rendered the end of his Secretaryship as unsatisfactory as it had been successful at the start. First of all, the position became a more awkward one politically, when James and Anne were estranged. Fowler found that he had to strike a balance between pleasing the queen and alienating her husband, when their opinions were opposed. Anne was not pleased at the amount of time her Secretary spent trying to persuade Buccleuch to return from the Netherlands or in improving the Basilicon Doron. These were duties to James, and more properly fulfilled by one of his retainers. Moreover Fowler had annoyed her with one of his many anagrams. As Dempster records in his Historia Ecclesiastica, he had pointed out to the queen that the phrase 'canis merda' (dog's dirt) could be produced from 'Danismerca' (Denmark).[2] Although at times his word games were remarkably successful - notably the chronogram in which he

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1. Ibid., pp. 180-195. See also Warrender Papers, ed. Annie I. Cameron and R. S. Rait, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, 1932), II, 258-62.

2. Thomas Dempster, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, Bannatyne Club, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1829), I, 292.

accurately forecast the year of Queen Elizabeth's death[1] - this one irritated Anne beyond all measure. In addition, Fowler spent a large amount of time looking after his estates in Scotland and so was not at court when the queen wanted him.

In 1603 he followed James to London, the only one of the Castalian band to do so. But frequent returns to Scotland and growing ill health were the main features of his stay south of the border.[2] By 1607 too the vultures were grouping round his job. At the forefront was the English poet John Donne. He had heard that Fowler was soon going to retire and asked his friend Goodyer, a gentleman of the privy chamber to use his influence on his behalf. But despite illness Fowler held on and remained Secretary till his death in 1612. On the 20th May of that year he was buried in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, by a Protestant minister.[3]

As student, spy and courtier he had led an eventful and reasonably prosperous career. Above all however, he seems to have been a businessman for in his will he left no debts and was able to bestow 7,000 merks to his daughter Anna and the rest (about 14,000 merks) to his son Ludovick.[4] One of the few Scottish poets who

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1. Hawthornden MS, xi, f 310

   Pace Inter anglos et hispanos Infracta
   Regina Morietur: et Scoto regi regna
   Sua ex probo populi consensu
   Absque turba relinquet
   Chronologica annorum supputatio
   MCCCCLLLXVVVVVVVIIIIIIII

2. See Fowler, Works, III, xxxvii.

3. For his relationships with Donne see E. Gosse, Life and Letters of John Donne (London, 1899). Death - Inquisit.Retorn.Reg. MS, Register House, Edinburgh, vol. xi, f 153.

4. E. Margaret Thompson, op.cit., p. 23ff.

knew how to combine verse with prosperity, he is in this the predecessor of Allan Ramsay.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE[1]

William Fowler, although an accepted member of the early Castalian group, differs from the three already studied in a number of ways. His sonnets for example deal predominantly with love. Of the 128 he composed, only fourteen are occasional in nature, the rest dealing with human affection in one form or another. The refusal of Scottish sonneteers to identify the genre with romance is therefore not shared by Fowler. Also, in composing the Tarantula of Loue, he became the first Scot to write a sonnet sequence in the manner favoured by Petrarch. Although the general approach is Petrarchan, Fowler uses a narrative link for his sequence, probably in imitation of Sidney's Astrophil and Stella. Neither here leaps into the deep end of love, but instead advances from light infatuation to deeper passion by a series of stages.[2]

Before the main investigation begins, two minor points must be clarified. The name 'Tarantula' is at first sight an unusual one for a love sequence. It does however focus attention on love's poisoning effect as stressed by Petrarch. In addition the lady is called Bellisa, a name which introduces her second imaginative

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1. See Appendix C.

2. J. W. Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (London, 1966), p. 72. Referring to Astrophil and Stella, he remarks, "The account of approval gradually changing into love, and love with mental reservations passing over into love without question, was in itself a serious departure from tradition. It showed a determination to remain true to the facts of experience even at the cost of reducing Stella's pre-eminence."

function. She is above all a warrior heroine, one who devastates the poet in a battle of love, opposing him without mercy, crushing him through superior strength.[1] Of the many strands of imagery which wind their way throughout the sequence, this vision of love as warfare is one of the strongest.

TARANTULA Sonnets 1 - 14

Of these, the first six deal with various aspects of the poet's verse, thus fulfilling the same function as Baldynneis's dedicatory poetry, while the second eight sketch in, one by one, the Petrarchan characteristics of Fowler's passion. Each of the 'dedicatory' sonnets take up a different aspect of the lover-poet's artistic problems, while anticipating the later description of a Petrarchan affection. In TAR 1 for example he addresses the readers directly, asking them to intercede with the lady and pleads that she spare him, because of the glory his verse will bring her. This is at once a justification in poetic terms, and an introduction to the cruel lady/miserable lover situation. In TAR 2 he elaborates on his captive state, while at the same time vowing to turn a destructive love into an act of creation through his pen. This dual progression continues in TAR 3, which protests that his verse will be inadequate in the face of so awesome a subject and TAR 4, which instead takes a positive view of both problems, praising his verse for reflecting the force of his love, and the lady for saintliness

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1. There is the possibility that the heroine of the Tarantula may be Queen Anne. The slow progression into favour, the short period of acceptance before a return to aloofness is an accurate mirroring of Fowler's actual relations with the queen in his capacity as secretary. On the whole however this view seems unlikely.

and beauty. The two themes are finally joined in TAR 5 and TAR 6, which deal respectively with his verse as a present and future mirror of their relationship.

Having thus reconciled himself to a poetic record of their love, he embarks on a traditional Petrarchan opening. In TAR 7 for example he is attacked by the flames of love and duly feels "The pouars of my lyfe decay". The lady is a "sant", while his own passion is of a spiritual nature, "that gendreth love and makketh lust to flie!" Like Petrarch too he is aware of love's contrarieties and expresses this in the most common Petrarchan antithesis of all:

> great fyres of hope bot gretar frosts of feare.[1]

Each succeeding sonnet adds some new Petrarchan characteristic to his passion. In TAR 8 it is the conflict between passion and reason as well as the paradox of loving the pain which the lady inflicts. TAR 9 introduces the stoicism, which was stressed in Chapter 2, as a mitigating factor in all Petrarchan pessimism:

> yet, nochttheles, your servant sal abyde
> in spyte of ruid repulse or silent pryde.[2]

TAR 10 contributes the problem of divine intervention in a prayer to Cupid, asking him to prove his power by conquering Bellisa. TAR 11, 12 and 13 could all be regarded as 'type' sonnets, each with many Petrarchan predecessors. The first is the 'list' type,

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 7, p. 144. Numbering is as in this volume. TAR = Tarantula; SS = A Sonnet Sequence; D = Death Sequence and MS = Miscellaneous Sonnets.

2. Ibid., TAR 9, p. 146.

setting out all the poet's symptoms. It is followed by a 'disorder' sonnet in which the lady's power is expressed in terms of the miracles she works, each of which seems to defy nature's laws. Finally there is a 'contrarieties' sonnet, describing the conflicts of the poet's state since first he loved Bellisa.

A full Petrarchan backcloth has now been sketched in. It is the conventional expression of a love not yet deep enough to defy convention. This period ends with TAR 14, when at last the poet progresses to a maturer passion:

> I see new glewe, new girns, newe netts, new snairs
> Adrest to trapp me faster in your traynes,
> And mak me crye, as feiling I do prove,
> "I did afore bot looke, bot now dois love".[1]

The initial, primarily sensual period of infatuation is over. The lover has reached the first stage on the Ficinian ladder and now must climb further if his love is to be meaningful. Indeed he has already made the necessary distinction between love and lust in TAR 7, so that step two is nearly achieved. He must first however put the love/lust lesson into practice, as well as schooling himself in the altruism of the passion.

The sequence is progressing in both narrative and Ficinian terms, while remaining true to the Petrarchan creed throughout. All this is not surprising. What does astonish the reader is the speed with which Fowler changes his imagery. The lady, in the space of fourteen sonnets has already been a lamp, a saint, a Sun, a murderer armed with a knife, a roe, a watering can sprinkling "frostes and fyre" from her eyes, a warrior and a worker of miracles.

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1. Ibid., TAR 14, p. 149.

So frequent are these comparisons that at times Fowler's sonnets read like lists of similes: stylistic exercises like Baldynneis's 'Literall Sonnet'. Certainly it is one of his greatest weaknesses, that he prefers to multiply references rather than explore any one in depth. But despite the many parallels used, the lady is really only seen in three lights, as a creature of God (lamp, saint, sun, worker of miracles), a creature of Nature (roe), and a creature of destruction (murderer, warrior). Fowler merely rings the changes on these three innumerable times, not surprisingly repeating himself very frequently. Yet occasionally he does strike on a novel, almost metaphysical way of presenting one of the three, as in TAR 4, when she becomes the "wyde storhouss of al grace". Not only is the image unusual, it links the natural and divine elements in a single metaphor. In his occasional use of simple, yet uncommon imagery Fowler is the follower of James and Baldynneis.

TARANTULA Sonnets 15 - 23

In this period the poet, free from his original blind passion, begins to explore the new situation in which he finds himself. It is, as has been suggested, a Petrarchan situation and as such is characterised by its paradoxicality. Every one of these nine sonnets deals with one paradox in the poet's condition. Whereas the last group had been primarily sensual, this is cerebral. In TAR 15 it is Bellisa's conflicting beauty and cruelty which forms the centre of his argument. This is expressed by imagery involving colour contrasts (black/disdain - white/snow - red/flames and blushing), and by frequent use of antithesis:

So love in me more high and I more lowe.[1]

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1. Ibid., TAR 15, p. 149.

TAR 16 turns attention on to the other main actor, the poet himself. The lady had controlled passion, thus remaining at harmony with herself and in control of her fate. But the poet, being tyrannised by his love, is a thing of chaos. He no longer is master of himself because "wemen tuoe and a chyld forlorne" (Fortune, Nature and Love) govern him.[1] Two paradoxes arise from this situation. Why should she be happy and free, while he is miserable and captive? Why, being miserable should he "embrace the authors of his wrak?" This sonnet is more concerned with the first, but touches on the second, which is fully explored in TAR 17:

> Suld I not heate these harmefull hands and blame
> Which shott the shafts of love streight in that part?[2]

The image of the arrow is for once developed and he concludes that he loves his wounds so much that he would kiss them, although they cause his misery. This love/hate paradox, like the beauty/cruelty or harmonious/chaotic ones is Petrarchan in origin.

TAR 18, 19 and 22 present further paradoxes, which are connected by a common interest in Nature. The conflict arises not from his love itself, but from that love when viewed with reference to Nature. The lady's eyes for example are compared to the sun and various similarities noted in TAR 18. But whereas the sun gives life to the world in general, her eyes bring death to him in

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1. This seems to me a better interpretation than Meikle's, (Fowler, Works, III, 25). He believes that the "wemen tuoe" are Bellisa and Venus, the "chylde forlorne" is Cupid. The echoing from Mark Alexander Boyd's sonnet is very noticeable,

> Two gods gyds me: the ane of tham is blind,
> Ye, and a bairn brocht up in vanitie;
> The nixt a wyf ingenrit of the se.

2. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 17, p. 152.

particular. This suggests that the love is unnatural in some way; not part of the benevolence and fruitfulness of Nature as Fowler sees it. This feeling is strengthened after reading TAR 19. His state is such that "cruell beaste in unmaneured land" would pity him, although the lady is merciless. This leads to a wider picture of all levels of creation echoing his misery, while she alone stands apart, out of harmony with an otherwise sympathetic creation. The blame however is not placed on her, but on Nature:

> Why hest thowe, nature, then thy worke invert,
> That framd her not a face lyke to her harte?[1]

In TAR 22, it is the poet who is at odds with Nature's divine order. At night, when

> The birds to nests, wyld beasts to denns reteirs[2]

he remains awake and troubled. Once again Nature is at fault for controlling all but love, "that proudlye dothe me thrall". Like James I in The Kingis Quair, Fowler cannot reconcile his vision of a beneficent Nature with personal misery, especially when the latter is caused by love, the force which underlies all life.[3] This he expresses in a series of descriptions showing the poet and his lady defying Nature's order.

Of the remaining sonnets TAR 20 is another series of contrasts characterizing the poet's state, while TAR 21 depicts the opposing forces in the lady's eyes. They are at once proud and meek, capable of bringing sweetness and sourness, bliss or pain. Through-

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1. Ibid., TAR 19, p. 153.

2. Ibid., TAR 22, p. 156.

3. James I, The Kingis Quair, ed. W. W. Skeat, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1884), p. 9, Stanzas 26-28.

out this portion of the sequence, the element of conflict and paradox is constant. Love has caused the poet to reasses his easy philosophy of life, to ask questions about the nature of a lady who couples beauty with tyranny, about the nature of a love which defies nature and worships the bringer of pain. It even brings him to the brink of a discussion on appearance and reality in TAR 23. Asleep he wonders whether his vision of the lady lying beside him is real. Awake he realises it was a fantasy, yet admits that his pleasure seemed real enough. The problem is no further developed but the poet is clearly aware of its existence.

Three different types of progression have therefore been made. The narrative takes us from blind infatuation to an awareness of the new problems posed by love. The Petrarchan lists of varied symptoms are rejected for a more profound exploration of those basic paradoxes which underly the Petrarchan philosophy. The Ficinian ascent is still continued, for at this period the poet keeps lust firmly in the background, moving towards a passion which is so predominantly mental as to be almost Platonic. At the same time, there are traces of the altruism necessary for step three, notably in TAR 17, where he continues loving despite his pain and her cruelty. As yet this is a necessity rather than a self-conscious decision, but the tendency is there.

All three types of imagery are present too, with Bellisa the warlike poisoning and murdering in TAR 15, 16 and 17; Bellisa the creature of Nature compared to the Sun in TAR 18, to bears, lions, and fish in TAR 19 and Bellisa the divine ruling over the poet in TAR 21. They combine in the last sonnet, TAR 23, where the image of "forrett brent" mixes with that of "muskett mouthe" and the

shrine of chastity. There is however a progression even in imagery. The heterogeneous lists of similes and metaphors are rejected in favour of longer conceits, like the lengthy lady/sun parallel of TAR 18. Just as the poet begins to control his love within the bounds of a philosophy of paradoxes, so this control is reflected through a less varied use of imagery.

TARANTULA Sonnets 24 - 31

This group laments his absence from the lady during a period of the plague, which might refer to the outbreak of 1585 in Scotland.[1] In terms of the narrative it is of minor importance, although it does show that his love can endure separation without lessening. Petrarch too had to live apart from Laura and thus absence was always one of the themes in Petrarchan sequences.

It is in relationship to Ficinian philosophy and Fowler's use of imagery, that these sonnets are truly important. The lover had reached the second stage of the ladder, having come to love purely and with his mind. In this group he climbs the further step towards altruism. Despite constant misery, he speaks of her as "a sueit saule" and the "pride of earth". For her sake he will bravely face death and for her sake he bids the seas be calm, so that she may return safely. He goes one step further and becomes capable of recreating her beauty imaginatively, as Ficino and Castiglione had demanded. Though she is out of sight, his thoughts:

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1. Plagues were of course part of the conventional structure of sonnet sequences. Yet the severe plague of 1585 might well be the one referred to here. This would place the sequence at the start of that burst of poetic activity caused by James VI's Essayes of a Prentise. The style and the use of Scots strengthen this supposition. Such an early dating would make the identification of Bellisa with Anne unlikely.

> Trewe secretars of my affections all,
> And high extollers of your lovlyie browes,
> Presents your absent schape more me to thrall.[1]

Already he is on the fourth rung of the ladder, with but three remaining before he achieves mystic union with the Idea.

So far too imagery of warfare and nature have dominated the sequence. In this section divine imagery comes to the fore. It is as if absence has heightened his sense of her divinity, while making him forget the tyranny of her chastity. Although in TAR 24 he is aware of the "rigours, frost, denyells, and disdaynes" which accompany her, it is the "sueit soule" and "angel face", which appear before him. She is variously seen as the eighth wonder of the world, his second sun and the temple of his vows, never as tyrant or murderess. At the same time, the paradoxical nature of the sequence continues, for while the beloved is almost divine, love itself remains at once malevolent and unnatural. It is likened to the plague and its poison adjudged the stronger:

> For so lovs venim dois on me encroache
> As no infectioun can infect my corse:
> For quhaire that pest is poyson tynes her force.[2]

It involves absence, which is compared to death in TAR 25 and considered as worse, because while death ends all misery the absence of love increases it. Love is therefore unnatural because its griefs are greater than those imposed by Nature in the form of illness or death. It once more sets the poet apart from nature, whether he shows this by seeking a mournful solitude as in TAR 26 or defying the natural laws of mutability as in TAR 27.

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 29, p. 162.

2. Ibid., TAR 27, p. 161.

Thus, while the period of absence may bring Fowler two rungs higher on the Ficinian ladder to transform the lady from vengeful warrior to sweet saint, it does not alter the problems of love at all. He is still ruled by passion, aware of constant misery and paradoxes, which he is unable to solve. The series therefore ends with a cry of despair in TAR 30. After lamenting his increasing grief, he admits the futility of trying to think his way into freedom, when the very nature of his captivity is based on the subservience of reason to passion:

> ..... bot this agayne sayes reason
> He goes not quhair he wald who is in preason.[1]

The joy of TAR 31, as "faire Lesbia" is imaginatively granted a safe landing is therefore uncharacteristic. Behind this happiness there lies the same hopelessness, which had preceded their parting.

TARANTULA Sonnets 32 - 40

These nine sonnets see the poet at his most despairing, the lady at her cruellest. The divine imagery at once disappears and is replaced first of all by the natural imagery of TAR 32 and TAR 33. Bellisa is compared to the weather, to storms and hail which obscure a clear sky and then to the sun, moon and stars, which alone could lead a sailor through these storms. She is thus identified with Nature in its fair and foul aspects. At this point she ceases to be a person and takes on a general significance. She is as it were life itself. Her cruelty is the cruelty of fate; the paradoxes of love, the paradoxes of life. Fowler's verse too reaches new heights as he joins imagery of warfare to that of nature to

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1. Ibid., TAR 30, p. 164.

produce a memorable picture of the impotence of man against the continued buffetings of fate:

> The rearding thoundars highest triees abate,
> And staitlye touers dothe with there fal ding doune,
> Yet they not ay contenewe in that state,
> Nor yet they alweys furiouslye dois froune;
> Bot thy fearse yre is euer bent and bowne
> With sad effects my gladnes to efface,
> And maks me scheaver trimblinglye and swowne,
> And by disdaynes prolongs my deip disgrace.[1]

The poet is at this point not only opposed by the lady, but by the whole of malevolent nature, comprehended and surpassed by the lady. She is Regan to Nature's Goneril, ever eager to outdo it in cruelty. This point is emphasised in TAR 36 where the lady's wrath is likened to a storm once more. Yet natural storms cease, the lady raises hers constantly, to drown the poet once and for all:

> Yet for all this they dothe not proudlye frame
> There stormy face in euerye streaming tyde
> At euerye houer, bot quyet, calme, and tame ....[2]

Opposed by such a powerful cosmic force the poet reaches the depths of despair in TAR 37 and vows "to pass my dayes but ather hope or harte".

The only possible way out is via an appeal to supernatural forces. This he does in the tentative opening couplet to TAR 38:

> O might it plese the high supernall pouers
> For to redress my sore afflicted state,[3]

advancing to a direct challenge to Cupid in TAR 39. There is little credit in conquering one so servile to love's laws as himself. The real test would be to overthrow Bellisa, but he begins to fear

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1. Ibid., TAR 35, p. 172.
2. Ibid., TAR 36, p. 174.
3. Ibid., TAR 38, p. 178.

that this would be beyond the blind God's capacities. By TAR 40 he has made a very real recovery, matching his despair with a faith in divine powers:

> Grace bids me hope, dispair agane defyde.[1]

The worst of the Petrarchan storm is over and the poet faces his fears with a newly discovered courage.

Fowler was at this stage in his sequence presented with a real challenge, which he accepted. He achieved a dramatic climax, by suddenly moving from the calmness of spiritual imagery to the raging storm. The increasing momentum was achieved by later addition of battle imagery, and the gradual conversion of Bellisa from lady to cosmic symbol. This latter movement was partially determined by the Ficinian development, for it marked the fifth stage, when particular love became universal, an affection for the whole of nature rather than any particular manifestation of it. The period of blank despair (TAR 37) was then naturally followed by the reintroduction of spiritual values in the form of "the high supernall pouers", although the battle imagery remained. The reader may not know what course the poet will follow now, but he cannot fail to realise that a real crisis has been passed.

TARANTULA Sonnets 41 - 51

This marks the poet's first period of escape from love's tyranny. Characteristically it opens with a picture of nature, as different as possible from the malevolent, stormy force depicted in TAR 35 and 36. He walks in a wood, proclaiming his miseries. It seems more than likely that this complaint, referred to in the first

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1. Ibid., TAR 40, p. 180.

couplet, is given fully in the highly rhetorical outburst of TAR 42. Just as the contemplation of nature at its most devastating and warlike had led to despair, so the vision of birds peacefully singing among green hills transmits a message of hope. Nature is once more sympathetic and inclined to hear his miseries. He contemplates living in the wood always, retreating like Timon or Lear, and asks what Nature would feed him on:

> "On grene," say they, "for grene dois hope ay breid,
> Which fedethe wrachles as by proofe they prove,
> And brings disparing saules some ease in love."[1]

This hope introduces the first period of freedom, stretching from TAR 43 to 45. In expressing this, Fowler for the first time allows the Petrarchan captivity imagery, always present in the sequence to become dominant. He, like the lady will "untuist the cordes" which bind him, "lousse the chaynes of my affectioun and afflicting paynes". Now at last the frustration of being a prisoner of blindness and passion is over and with relief he celebrates the new freedom of sight, both mental and physical:

> Blist be that houer, and blissed be that day,
> That opned up the windowes to disdayne,
> Whair through my eyes there blindnes doth bewraye,
> Which, whils thay servd, they served but ay in vayne.[2]

When the major changes in imagery from warlike to spiritual, storms to peaceful nature are taking place, captivity images remain more or less constant, an undertone behind the balanced opposition of major themes. In this first period of escape they gain a new-found mastery.

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1. Ibid., TAR 41, p. 181.

2. Ibid., TAR 45, p. 183

The poet's period of freedom, though ecstatic, is of short duration. The force of habit is too strong and a return to servitude is heralded by the contrarieties and storm imagery of TAR 46:

> I seme content, yet nothing can me pleise,
> And in this battle beares a naked harte,
> And cairles of my lyfe I scoure the sees
> Of stormye thoughts and of tempesteous smart.[1]

Fowler does not directly state that love has conquered him once more. Instead he returns to those images and patterns which had characterized the previous period of despair. The following four sonnets each concentrate on one of these. In TAR 47 it is the contrarieties pattern, in TAR 48 the storm image, in TAR 49 battle, and in TAR 50 disorder, expressed through the Platonic image of the chariot:

> O faire whyte hand, who onlye ought to hold
> Of cupids chariott the triumphant reanes.[2]

This is a clear admission of defeat, an appeal for passion to resume its sway in the soul. Imaginatively Fowler has brought us full circle, out of the storm back into it, via a period of benevolent Nature and broken chains. All that remains is to confess this fact directly and this he does in TAR 51:

> Love sayes its tyme that I agane returne
> To wayle my wonted woes and sad lament,
> And to resume the flams by which I burne.[3]

There are therefore two types of progression in the Tarantula, one made through narrative and the other through images, with the latter usually preceding. At the same time the ascent of the

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1. Ibid., TAR 46, p. 183.
2. Ibid., TAR 50, p. 188.
3. Ibid., TAR 51, p. 190.

Ficinian ladder has come to an abrupt halt. Stage 6 demanded a transcending of love, represented by the escape sonnets. But the poet failed to achieve the necessary state of inner contemplation and instead sank back into the tyranny of the passions.

TARANTULA Sonnets 52 - 65

After his brief period of freedom Fowler returns to the very beginning of his love and quickly runs through the various stages again. In TAR 53, as in TAR 1-6 the topic is verse and its relationship to love. The praise sonnets and symptom sonnets return in TAR 54 and 55 with their list approach and uncoordinated imagery. TAR 56 reintroduces the paradox of loving the source of all pain, until eventually in TAR 65, Bellisa is once more the nature goddess, combining within her all the characteristics of the pagan gods:

> Tuix heavenes and her whome onlye I adore
> I euerye wheare discerne resemblance greate.[1]

These fourteen sonnets are therefore in the nature of a brief resumé. After nearly gaining freedom, the poet fails. For a while it seems as if this failure means the erasion of all previous progress. Contemplation however reminds him of the lessons he had learned, and with greater speed than before he advances from the catalogues of infatuated love to an understanding of the paradoxes lying behind the passion and from thence to the re-establishment of the lady as a Nature-Goddess. The thematic similarity between TAR 60 and TAR 17, TAR 63 and TAR 33 is therefore a necessary part of Fowler's scheme for the sequence. The sonnets in this group

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1. Ibid., TAR 65, p. 199.

intentionally point backwards to earlier stages, as the poet gathers his strength for another attempt at finding freedom.

TARANTULA Sonnets 66 - 75

This second period of escape differs from the first in having a distinctly religious bias. It opens with the old image of the storm representing malevolent nature, but now the poet is a rock, unharmed by its worst ravages. This is in itself an advance, for the first escape had been made in favourable conditions. Now Fowler feels capable of braving the Nature/Lady in all her moods. He once again renounces slavery, casts aside his chains and momentarily tastes freedom, before lapsing into a state of inconstancy as he had done in TAR 50:

> How can I be cald constant in my love
> Sen in inconstancyie my dedes consists?
> I mount and fall; I baithe stand stil and move;
> I fear, I hope; I leave aff yet insists.[1]

This time however, he does not immediately retreat into despair. Instead he cries aloud to God, confesses his weakness and blindness, before pleading:

> Yet let thy mercie the to mercie move,
> And off my mortal mak immortal love.[2]

This is his first real attempt at reaching the sixth rung of the Ficinian ladder, at following the Petrarchan 'strada al Dio'. Love has now become at once love of the Lady and love for God, so that, when in TAR 72 Bellisa captures him again, the poet remains conscious of a link with God, in the figure of Christ:

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1. Ibid., TAR 69, p. 204.

2. Ibid., TAR 70, p. 206.

> Thow Sone quha sees and shynes from heavens above
> Did euer thow behald a face more faire,[1]

while Bellisa is converted from a Nature Goddess capable of malevolence and aggression to a divinity of "bontie", "in quhome the heaven hes steld". She is pictured in TAR 73 reading the bible and stroking her breast, thus symbolising the religious and sensual aspects of the poet's passion, now seen to be reconcilable.

The final sonnet then, with its apparent return to slavery, the lists of lady's weapons and poet's complaints is only on one level an echo of TAR 2. The externals of the poet's situation have not changed. He is still in love, still a servant to the lady and her chastity, still suffering, but he has made no fewer than three types of progression.

(a) In the nature of his love. He has advanced from purely sensual admiration of the lady's beauty, to a love/lust distinction and from thence to altruism, recreation of beauty in absence, general rather than particular love and finally to an understanding of physical love as a shadow of the divine. In short he has moved up six rungs on the Ficinian ladder.

(b) In his understanding of love. He has explored at length many of the paradoxes underlying his situation including those of beauty/cruelty; love/hate; constancy/inconstancy and the lover's apparent conflict with the rest of nature.

(c) In his concept of the lady. From being Bellisa, the warrior and a malevolent nature-Goddess she is finally reconciled with the mildness and purity of the Christian religion.

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1. Ibid., TAR 72, p. 208. The Hawthornden version reads 'sunn' for 'sone', but Fowler clearly intended a pun, embracing both senses.

SONNET SEQUENCE AND DEATH SEQUENCE

A strong narrative link gives the Tarantula its unity. It does however seem possible that the 75 sonnets which now compose it are the remains of a longer sequence of 100 poems, including the works printed in Meikle's edition as A Sonnet-Sequence and Of Death. It is certainly noticeable that there are strong thematic links between the first of these sequences and the Tarantula. SS 1 for example considers the problem of self-imposed grief yet again, and asks why dead love should be resurrected:

> Quhy wakned wakns yow upp neire hopes and feares,
> And blawes deade coales, cold cindars bringing lett.[1]

The imagery immediately recalls TAR 74, when the poet asked his lady why,

> (She) dois prepair the tymber, colls and treis,
> For to revive my half-extingisht fyre.[2]

The comparison in SS 2 between the poet's captivity and that of the flower similarly sends the mind back to TAR 64 and the lark. Both objects are viewed enclosed in cages of glass, both eventually find freedom, while the poet does not and both works include puns on the poet's name:

> No Fouler catching bot a Fouler caught (TAR 64)

and

> A Flouer to perrishe and a Fouler dee (SS 2).[3]

Similar parallels exist between SS 5 and TAR 68; SS 6 and TAR 18, 65; SS 7 and TAR 28; SS 8 and TAR 7; SS 9 and TAR 45; SS 12 and

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1. Ibid., SS 1, p. 215.
2. Ibid., TAR 74, p. 210.
3. Ibid., TAR 64, p. 198 and SS 2, p. 216.

TAR 35; SS 14 and TAR 19; SS 15 and TAR 31; SS 16 and TAR 71, 72. It would therefore appear that the two sequences, which share a common heroine in Bellisa, were once one. Later the poet, in pruning his narrative from 100 to 75 poems, placed those sonnets which were merely repetitive in a separate series.

This accounts for only 16. The remaining nine, like the second part of Petrarch's Rime deal with Bellisa's death. It is at the end of this group that he finally reaches the top of the Ficinian ladder, finding true peace in harmony with God. Typically however, this happiness comes at the end of a lenghthy period of argument and doubt. The opening 22 line Elegy voices the poet's initial despair, using the natural contrasts between spring and harvest, rose and briar, day and night, to express the conversion of hope into misery. There follows a debate in which he proves that death is worse than love, but this pessimism is counteracted by a vision in which Bellisa, like Laura, praises his faithfulness. Whereas at the end of the Tarantula she resembled God, now she has gone to heaven and become at one with Him. Complete identification between love and mystic adoration is thus for the first time possible and for this the poet prepares. Like the Pearl poet his first instinct is to come and join at once in the heavenly harmony, but the possibilities of an early death and suicide are rejected in D 4 and 5 respectively. The real solution appears in D 7, when he at last understands why God had deprived him of his love:

> God hes her taine in mercye not in yre,
> That unto him my thoughts may all aspyre.[1]

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1. Ibid., D 7, p. 239. Writing just after the discovery of the Pearl manuscript, Fowler may have been influenced by this work, Certainly the vision of the maiden and the various questions on the nature of salvation are paralleled in the Middle English work. The strongest parallel is in D 9:

> Me thought I saw downe from the heavens discend
> That peirles perle quhome I in hairt adore.

The lady had to die because heaven was her true home and she but an aspect of the godhead. When the "peirles perle" descends from the heaven to bless him and approve his faithfulness, her blessing is a divine blessing, another version of 'this is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased'. It is the final accolade for having reached the end of Petrarch's 'strada', the top of Ficino's ladder. The journey has been a long one, full of set-backs, but always it has been both dramatic and ordered in its progression. Fowler may have rather much of the washing-list mentality to be a first rate poet, but like Walter Scott he knows the art of telling a story. Certainly his Tarantula is the only Sonnet sequence in Scots, which depends for much of its effect on a clearly defined narrative.

OTHER THEMES

Most of the themes covered by the early Castalians reappear in Fowler. The poet is variously under the power of Fortune, the Pagan Gods and Nature (TAR 16), exploring these themes with the pessimism of Baldynneis rather than James's optimism or Montgomerie's broad sanity. His interest in cosmology, like the master poet's is peripheral and when he does think of the world it is in terms of the Platonic spheres and divine harmony rather than the theories of Copernicus or Brahe. An interest in astrology is shown in MS 24, where he poetically describes a pregnancy lasting from January to September,using the signs of the zodiac to make his point. MS 22 and 23, dealing with the 'virginity' of one of the ladies in waiting and the "Paines in her Middle" add to the growing group of obscene sonnets, while MS 15, like Montgomerie's S 69, depicts an evening round the bottle and culminates with a line imitating drunkenness:

I rest, grave dame, your drukken slave.[1]

In all these ways Fowler carries on the Castalian tradition. But it is on his one innovation that attention must befocussed, for Fowler was the first Scottish poet to focus attention on Nature in and for itself, since Gavin Douglas:

At this period allegorical pictures of Nature were the most common. Every element of scenery would be mythologically represented in the form of a pagan god or goddess. Even Fowler follows the fashion in TAR 31, when praying for calm weather:

> O thetis be thow calme and Iuno cleire!
> O boreas assuage the bosteous wynde!
> O neptune, whils the seas doth rore and reare,
> Protect from rocks the maistres of my mynde![2]

Ironically the personification kills the scene. Fowler himself seems ill at ease and relies heavily on rhetorical devices to gain his effect. The contrast between this and TAR 22, (the sonnet discussed in Chapter 1) is marked. Close observation of nature in even its minutest aspects, reminiscent of Douglas links with a feeling for the perspective of the scene as a whole. The result is a picture more typical of the Romantic than the Renaissance period. Indeed in this aspect of his art, Fowler can be seen as the first forerunner of Burns.

It is true that natural imagery has an important functional part to play in the sequence. When the poet is in love his inner chaos sets him against the ordered harmony of the world around him,

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1. Ibid., MS 15, p. 262. Compare Montgomerie's final couplet,

> Scol frie, al out, albeit that I suld brist
> Ih wachts, hale beir, fan hairts and nych (sum) drist.

2. Ibid., TAR 31, p. 166.

while escape from the lady's tyranny is represented by his reunion with the peaceful landscapes of spring. His alterations of mood are likened to the changeability of the seasons, his constancy contrasted with them. Finally, Nature the goddess, standing as she does midway between man and God is a useful symbol for the lady's semi-divine state. It is by identifying Bellisa with the outside world, that Fowler succeeds in making the movement from love to life, from the setbacks of love to those of fate, from the paradoxes of love to those of divine purpose. Indeed the progression of the narrative goes hand in hand with repetition and contrasting of imagery. In the early group of sonnets (TAR 1-14) natural imagery joins with spiritual and warlike images, but as the passion deepens (TAR 15-23) so Bellisa is seen more and more in terms of warfare and nature in its malevolent moods. The absence group (TAR 24-31) marks a sharp contrast to imagery of temples and sainthood, only for an increase in imagery of storms and battles to introduce the climax of utter despair in the middle of the sequence. Captivity images (TAR 41-51) and religious images (TAR 66-75 and Death Sequence) bring the Tarantula to its successful and peaceful conclusion. One is therefore always aware of a tension between the story which is advancing and the imagery which is repetitive and has a balancing function. Fowler's use of landscapes, storms, summer and winter must be seen within the framework of this larger plan.

At the same time, while following this plan, and making use of Telesio's vision of Nature as at once mère and marâtre, Fowler clearly enjoys producing detailed pictures of the world around him. His finest sonnets, like TAR 22, nearly always contain some portion

of natural description. While TAR 22 depicts nature at peace, most of the others, show it in more malevolent mood, One remembers for example the thunder striking down trees and towers in TAR 35 or the comparison between the lady's countenance and the "stormy face in euerye streaming tyde" (TAR 36); the disordered nature which imaginatively heralds the poet's first escape from love or the use of seasonal changes to describe his initial grief at Bellisa's death:

> My Ioy was in his spring, my harvest now is past,
> And wintar cumis by sturdie storms to schak thame by hir blast.
> And as I so the breir enviround with the rose,
> As darkfull nights the brightest day by mystie cludds do close,
> As feare dois fallow hope, so sadnes dois my Ioye,
> And sall till that the sisters thrie to erth my corps convoy.[1]

Fowler's faults as a poet are many. His imagery is effective through repetition rather than originality. His thought is never profound, with any complex problems, like that of appearance and reality, being touched upon rather than explored. In addition, tortuous constructions of weak rhymes betray an occasional inability to master the rigorous poetic techniques necessary for sonnet composition. The Tarantula of Loue is nevertheless worth study, for its close following of Petrarch, its dramatic narrative progression and the close observation of nature which pervades it.

INFLUENCES

The most notable change in this area of study, is that while the early Castalians leaned heavily on French and Scottish sources, none of the sequence writers use them as primary influences. These sonneteers, writing at a time when unification with England was the

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1. Fowler, Works, I, D 1, p. 233.

major political problem, seemed anxious to cast off their poetic heritage and coalesce with their new compatriots. Few indeed are the echoes of Henryson or Dunbar to be found in Fowler. This point has already been made implicitly by Kurt Wittig in The Scottish Tradition in Literature. By almost ignoring the period however he seems to infer that it is poetically irrelevant rather than a time when 'the Scottish Tradition' was ignored in favour of foreign influences.[1]

French writers fare slightly better. Fowler shares with Ronsard the interest in Nature before noted and Wilson's different classifications could equally well apply to the Scottish poet. Like Ronsard he uses the list approach (TAR 22), the symbolical treatment of natural phenomena (TAR 32), the use of nature as an evocation of mood (TAR 41) and a mythological presentation of nature (TAR 31). This shared interest includes their passing interest in astrology and Fowler's zodiac sonnet may have been suggested by Amours No. 72, 'L'astre ascendant, soubz qui je pris naissance'. Both make use of zodiacal signs to argue the poet's impotence against fate and then proceed to suggest physical union:

> En toy je suis, et tu es dedans moy,
> En moy tu vis, et je vis dedans toy.[2]

Amours No. 28 may also be at the base of TAR 39, for both open with similar outburst of indignation against love:

> O cruell love, why dothe thow sore assayle
> My humbled harte with torments overtorne?

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1. Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh and London, 1958). Every one of the Scottish sonneteers, including Montgomerie and Drummond is classed as a minor poet.

2. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris, 1932), IV, 74.

and

> Injuste amour, fuzil de toute rage,
> Que peult un cuoeur soubmis à ton pouvoyr.[1]

They then deal with the lady's complete dominance. Other possible parallels exist between Continuations No. 42 ('Dame je ne vous puis offrir a mon depart') and TAR 40; between Hélène No. 6 ('Dedans les flots d'Amour je n'ay point de support') and TAR 33, but the conceits of the lost heart and storm at sea are so common, that no definite influence can be ascertained.

TAR 41 with its appeal to Nature to release the poet from misery may have originated from Desportes' Cléonice No. 42, ('Quel ciel noircy de pluye, ou quel nuage espais'), for in both the lover walks among the beauties of the countryside, appeals to them and gains comfort. The two echo sonnets, Cléonice No. 47 ('Echo, nymphe jadis d'amoureuse nature') and S S 14 also follow similar lines of argument although Desportes uses a verbal echo to underline his point, while this Fowler omits. But with Desportes as with Ronsard one feels that whatever the exact nature of the influence may have been, it is certainly not strong. Fowler was clearly a reader of French verse, yet seems to have used it sparingly, when composing his own sonnets. His love of the list approach may have been encouraged by Du Bellay, who used it frequently, while Scève Dizain CCLII may have produced S S 3. Yet one never gets really close imitation such as Montgomerie's translations from Ronsard. Although in point of time an early Castalian, Fowler is poetically a generation ahead of himself. His stay in Italy almost certainly caused

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 39, p. 180. Ronsard, Oeuvres, IV, 31.

this, because it is to the Italians he turns, when seeking models for his verse.

Petrarch is his first and most popular source. The opening sonnet of the Tarantula for example is partially a translation of the first sonnet to Laura:

> O yow who heres the accents of my smart
> Diffusd in ryme and sad disordred verse,
> Gif euer flams of love hathe touchte your hart,
> I trust with sobbs and teares the same to perse;
> Yea, euen in these ruid rigours I reherse,
> Which I depaint with blodie bloodles wounds,
> I think dispared saules there plaints sal sperse,
> And mak the haggard rocks resound sad sounds.

and

> Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
> Di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core
> In sul mio primo giovenile errore
> Quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'i'sono:
> Del vario stile in ch'io pianga e ragiono,
> Fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,
> Ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,
> Spero trovar pieta, non che perdono.[1]

The imagery is at times skilfully altered by Fowler and he concludes on the theme of poetic immortality rather than the transience of worldly joys but there can be no doubt that his sonnet grew out of the Petrarchan original. Indeed the Tarantula with its sonnets to Bellisa in life and in death is obviously modelled on the Italian's sequence to Laura, and the various parallels are too numerous to study in any detail. The more important borrowings will be discussed first and then a list of influences, including those from other Italian authors added.

One of the most interesting of Fowler's Petrarchan adaptations

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 1, p. 136. Petrarca: Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine, ed. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi e N. Sapegno (Milano, Napoli, 1952), Rime 1, p. 3.

is contained in TAR 60. In it he likens the poet's foolish infatuation to the death-flight of a fly, when attracted by the light of a flame:

> As that poure foolische fliee, quhase custome is
> By flams to fyre her wings and lyfe to lose,
> Doth fondlye flie to her conceated bliss,
> And purches deathe in place of her repose,
> So .....

The original for this sonnet, one of Fowler's finest, is No. 19 in Petrarch's Rime:

> Son animali al mondo de si altera
> Vista che 'ncontra 'l sol pur si difende;
> Altri, pero che 'l gran lume gli offende,
> Non escon fuor se non verso la sera:
> Et altri, col desio folle che spera
> Gioir forse nel foco, perche splende,
> Provan l'altra vertu, quella ch'encende:
> lasso, el mio loco e 'n questa ultima schera![1]

Each poet then goes on to prove that his state is worse than the fly's because the flame which burns him is fiercer and lasts longer. There is however a strong possibility that another of Petrarch's sonnets, No. 141 ('Come talera al caldo tempo sole') may have been a secondary influence. It deals like Fowler's with a single insect rather than groups of animals and throws more influence on the lover's condition than No. 19. It seems possible that Fowler collated the two, when composing his own version.

The image of the captured bird, which Fowler uses frequently in the Tarantula, usually accompanied by a pun on his own name, almost certainly derives from Rime No. 181, ('Amor fra l'erbe una leggiadra rete'), which should be compared with TAR 64. A similar echoing of Petrarchan imagery occurs in TAR 12. Love has gained

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 60, p. 196. Petrarch, Rime, p. 21.

control of the poet's will and Fowler expresses this through a bridle metaphor:

> But spurr to prick, but brydle for to turne.

This derives from Petrarch's conceit of the will, trained by love to disobey control like a proud animal, in Rime No. 6:

> E poi che 'l fren per forza a se raccoglie,
> I' mi rimango in signoria di lui,
> Che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta.[1]

Fowler's 'Contrarieties' sonnet, TAR 59, also is modelled on the fire/ice, hope/despair oppositions favoured by Petrarch. If there is any direct model for this poem in the Rime, it is probably No. 134 ('Pace non trovo e non o da far guerra'), which anticipates the hope/fear, burn/freeze, peace/war, dumb/voiced and joy/sorrow contrasts. But it is more likely that Fowler synthesized various Petrarchan sonnets in producing his poem. In the Rime almost 50 such contrasts are advanced and it is a simple matter to choose ten or so from these possibilities and so compose a sonnet which can claim some originality without containing a single original thought.

Even TAR 22, Fowler's best contribution to Scottish sonneteering, has a Petrarchan origin. The skilful portrait of all nature sinking to rest, while the poet alone wrestles with love's torments had first been expounded in Rime No. 164. There the imagery of night approaching, birds and beasts returning to nest or lair and the waves in the sea sinking to rest had already been given poetic expression:

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 12, p. 148. Petrarch, Rime, p. 8. The underlining is my own. The image is origimally Platonic.

Or che'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace,
E le fere e gli augelli il sonno affrena,
Notte il carro stellato in giro mena
E nel suo letto il mar senz' onda giace.

There the poet's eternal unrest had also been anticipated in a fashion, superior even to Fowler at his best:

Mille volte il di moro e mille nasco:
Tanto da la salute mia son lunge![1]

This sonnet of Petrarch's was copied by many later writers, aware of its great poetic qualities. Ronsard and Baïf in France, Sidney and Griffin in England all wrote on the same theme, but Fowler's version bears comparison with any of them.

Italian influence is thus very strong throughout Fowler's sonneteering contribution. The following list does not claim to be exhaustive, but it does pinpoint the main sources.

TAR 1 and Petrarch Rime 1 'Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono'
TAR 3 and Petrarch Rime 20 'Vergognando talor ch'ancor si taccia'
TAR 5 and Petrarch Rime 158 'Ove ch'i'posi gli occhi lassi o giri'
TAR 12 and Petrarch Rime 6 'Si traviato e 'l folle mi' desio'
TAR 16 and Petrarch Rime 124 'Amor, Fortuna, a la mia mente schiava'
TAR 17 and Tansillo Sonnet 28 'Cara, soave, ed onorata piaga'
TAR 22 and Petrarch Rime 154 'Or che'l ciel e la terra e 'l vento tace'
Boiardo Sonnet 127 'Ecco la pastorella mena al piano'
TAR 25 and Boiardo Sonnet 32 'Gia vidi uscir di l'onde una matina'
TAR 26 and Petrarch Rime 15 'Io mi rivolgo indietro a ciascun passo'
TAR 29 and Michelangelo S 29 'I' mi credetti ....'
TAR 33 and Petrarch Rime 189 'Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio'
TAR 34 and Rota Sonnets p. 14r 'Armata schiera di guerrier, che gode'
TAR 38 and Petrarch Rime 154 'Le stelle, il cielo e gli elementi a prova'
TAR 39 and Petrarch Rime 65 'Lasso, che mal accorto fui da prima'

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1. Petrarch, Rime, p. 230. The primary source is Statius', 'Crimine quo merui'.

TAR 42 and Sannazaro S 19 'O vita, vita non, ma vivo affanno'
TAR 43 and Petrarch Rime 82 'Io non fu' d'amar voi lassato unquanco'
TAR 59 and Petrarch Rime 134 'Pace non trovo, e non o da far guerra'
TAR 60 and Petrarch Rime 19 'Son animali al mondo de si altera'
Petrarch Rime 141 'Come talora al caldo tempo sole'
TAR 64 and Petrarch Rime 181 'Amor fra l'erbe una leggiadra rete'
TAR 65 and Boiardo Sonnet 6 'Il canto de li augei di fronda in fronda'
TAR 70 and Petrarch Rime 62 'Padre del ciel, dopo i perduti giorni'
TAR 71 and Petrarch Rime 81 'Io son si stanco sotto 'l fascio antico'
D 1 and Petrarch Rime 292 'Gli occhi di ch'io parlai si caldamente'
D 7 and Petrarch Rime 350 'Questo nostro caduco e fragil bene'
S S 10 and M 20 and Castalletti 'I terti amorosi'
A 3 Sc. 12 'Sormontante mio Sol' et seq.

From this table, the following conclusions emerge. Italian influence permeates the whole Tarantula sequence and is also present in the Death sonnets. The miscellaneous verse is for the most part original, with French sources more common than Italian. Petrarch is by far the most popular model, although Fowler seems to have read widely and based a handful of sonnets on works by minor writers. He is thus the first Scottish sonneteer to appreciate the treasures of Italian sonneteering and put them to practical use. In so doing, he set a precedent which was to be followed by Alexander, Murray and Drummond.

Fowler also shows a greater awareness of English sonneteering than any of the early Castalians. As was suggested, the Tarantula, although mainly a Petrarchan sequence, has a number of traits reminiscent of Sidney's Astrophil and Stella. The idea of tracing a growing infatuation, blossoming into love and then cooling off had first been exploited by the English author:

> Not at first sight, nor with a dribbed shot
> Love gave the wound, which while I breathe, will bleed:
> But knowne worth did in mine of time proceed,
> Till by degrees it had full conquest got.[1]

This could be a précis of the early portions of the Tarantula. Also, like Sidney, Fowler is given to the use of modern imagery. The new type of horologe which he saw at Lord Mordent's house is used to describe the poet's relationship with his lady, just as Sidney might take his imagery from mining or horseracing:

> My mistres and this horloge be a lyke
> In wheils, in signs, in hammer, brod and bell,
> In paces, motions, in slownes not to styke,
> Devyding tymes, and yet no tyme can tell.[2]

Like Sidney he introduces a period of absence into the sequence and makes use of intimate details to give the series more reality. But the influence is mainly of a general nature. Particular images do occur, notably the comparison of lady's lips to judge's cloak shared by A and S 73 and TAR 61, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

The only direct parallels which can be traced are of a general nature. TAR 53 ('Muse, yow fair dame, from whens doth flow this vayne') may have been suggested by A and S 3 ('Let dainty wits cry on the Sisters nine') for both reject the muses as a source of inspiration and instead give credit to the lady's beauty. The similarity however is only one of general outline as is that between TAR 29 ('Though now no more I see for which I sight') and A and S 88 ('Out! traitor absence! Darest thou consel me'). Each explains

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1. The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. W. A. Ringler Jr. (Oxford, 1962), Astrophil and Stella, p. 165.

2. Fowler, Works, I, MS 17, p. 263.

the Ficinian doctrine of recreating the lady's beauty imaginatively in absence, but Sidney's version uses more striking imagery, more colloquialism and a more peremptory tone than Fowler's.

Thus, if Petrarchan influence is discernible throughout the Tarentula, it is only occasionally that one is reminded of Sidney, either through the general narrative conception, through a single unusual image or through shared themes. Other English sonneteers play their part however. The opening to S S 12 inevitably recalls the first couplet in Sonnet 29 of Daniel's Delia:

> Na rearding thundars that abbaits and knoks
> The highest trees which theme withstand the more.
>
> (Fowler)
>
> The broken toppes of loftie trees declare,
> The fury of a mercy-wanting storme.
>
> (Daniel)[1]

while there is a notable echoing of Sonnet 30 in S S 9:

> Wering tyme dois mortal beautyes waist.
>
> (Fowler)
>
> Then beautie ....
> Must yeelde up all to tyrant Times desire.
>
> (Daniel)[2]

Spenser's rhetorical question at the start of Amoretti No. 31:

> Ah why hath nature to so hard a hart
> Given so goodly giftes of beauties grace?

leads to a discussion on the lady's having been granted both beauty and cruelty. Fowler, when tackling a similar problem in TAR 19 chose to end on the same note:

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1. Ibid., S S 12, p. 226. Daniel, Poems, ed. Sprague, p. 25.

2. Fowler, Works, I, S S 9, p. 223. Daniel, Poems, p. 25.

Why hest thowe, nature, then thy worke invert,
That framd her not a face lyke to her harte?[1]

Amoretti No. 84 with its protestations that the poet is actuated more by love than lust could well have influenced S S 8 ('to lust not love my zeal is imput more') although Constable's 'I say I loue, my Mistres saies tis lust' is also a possibility. Ironically enough the most obvious English borrowing in the Tarantula does not come from a sonnet at all but from Kyd's Spanish Tragedy. TAR 42 is a list of antithetical exclamations of disillusionment, clearly based on Hieronimo's speech in Act 3 Scene 2, although it may be that Sannazaro's sonnet 'O vita, vita non, ma vivo affanno' is a common source:

O nights, no nights bot ay a daylye payne!
O dayes, no dayes bot cluddie nights obscure!
O lyfe most lothd, transchandge in death againe!
(Fowler)

O eyes, no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears;
O life, no life, but lively form of death;
O world, no world, but mass of public wrongs.
(Kyd)[2]

English drama as well as English poetry comes as grist to Fowler's sonneteering mill. Unlike his predecessors he welcomes assistance from across the border, while still regarding Petrarch as his main source.

Fowler then, like James VI originated a certain type of sonneteering. While James began the vogue of occasional sonneteering

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1. The Poems of Spenser, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London, 1965), p. 567. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 19, p. 153.

2. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 42, p. 181. Thomas Kyd, The Spanish Tragedy, ed. Paul Edwards (London, 1959), Act 3 Sc. 2, p. 52.

influenced by French and Scottish sources, Fowler moved the bias of attention to love sequences and drew primarily from Italian or English authors. Of these Petrarch is by far the strongest single influence, Although Fowler is an efficient rather than an inspired writer, it is to his credit that he introduced Scotland to the cult of the sonnet sequence and to the vast wealth of Italian Literature. The success of his experiment is witnessed by the number and the quality of later Scottish sequences.

STYLE

The first noticeable stylistic feature is undue repetitiveness. Already it has been established that the same images are reiterated and that Fowler uses the list approach rather often. At a verbal level the same weakness exists. Certain words nearly always produce the same associations in the poet's mind. The contrast between fear and hope for example introduces a similar opposition of frost and fire. Thus TAR 7 ends:

Great fyres of hope bot gretar frosts of feare,

which is echoed by the opening of TAR 8:

Through fyres of hope bot gretar frosts of feare.

This similarity can be accounted for through positing a wish for verbal linkage, but a similar phraseology can be traced elsewhere in the sequence:

TAR 13: Enflamed by hope, by frost attones I feare.
TAR 46: I burne by hope, and by dispaire dois freise.
TAR 59: I burne by hope, I freise agayne by feare.[1]

In the same way the poet's heart is seldom mentioned without the

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1. Fowler, Works, I, p. 148, p. 183 and p. 194.

attribution of humility:

TAR 14: Ay working wrong upon my huimbled harte.
TAR 35: The godds .. appaysed by a humbled harte.
TAR 39: O cruell love, why dothe thow sore assayle
My humbled harte ...?[1]

Captivity is infrequently referred to without "snairs, girns and glewes", the latter pair being unusual words of Middle English origin:

TAR 14: I see new glewe, new girns, new netts, new snairs.
TAR 29: And Fouler rins not Foule to girnis and glewe.
TAR 72: To trayne me to thy girns agane and snair.[2]

The concept of rigour on the other hand without exception sends Fowler's mind shooting off at one of three predictable tangents. Most often it is contrasted alliteratively with that 'reuthe' for which the poet longs:

TAR 15: Reuthe in her broues, bot rigour in her brayne.
TAR 51: Doth seme for to convert
Bellisas face from rigour unto reuthe.
TAR 57: Reuthe in thy eyes and rigour in thy harte.
TAR 58: Pretending reuthe, yet rigour dois bot shawe.

Yet regularly it incites him to anger at what he considers a wrongful reward for his long days of patient service:

TAR 46: I mereit muche, but rigour smores desert.
TAR 9: Unkyndlye mett with rigour for desert.

Or else 'rigour' is connected with a rampart image, and Fowler longs vainly to conduct a successful assault on the fortress of the lady's chastity:

TAR 35: The rampiers of thy rigour for to skayle.
TAR 37: No plaints nor prayers can prevayle
The rampiers of your rigour to subvert.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 149, p. 172 and p. 180.

2. Ibid., p. 149, p. 162 and p. 208.

3. Ibid., p. 149, p. 190, p. 193, p. 193, p. 183, p. 146, p. 172, p. 176.

When introducing the idea of joy too Fowler can seldom refrain from contrasting it with its antithesis, while at the same time indulging in a piece of wordplay:

> TAR 11: O undermyning will which works my noy,
> Possess her hart that hathe displaist my Ioy!
> TAR 54: O chanell of my ioy ... o tempests of my noyes.
> TAR 40: A hardie feare, which doeth uncertene ioyes and noy bewray.[1]

Innumerable examples could be added to those cited above, the intimate connections between "pryde" and "pompe", between "boyling in bayle" and "pyning in payne", between "lothed life" and "doleful death", but enough has been said to establish the principle of phraseological rigidity lying behind Fowler's poetry. With words as with constructions and imagery he too readily accepts previously employed formulae. Facility of expression goes hand in hand with a tendency to monotony.

In the same fashion he repeats his favourite rhetorical devices, until they lose their effectiveness. Connected with his predilection for the list approach for example, there are the two devices of 'suspension' and 'verbal repetition'. The first of these consists of holding back the principle clause for six lines or more, as in TAR 11 where it is introduced in l. 14 to round off a list of mournful complaints against fate. Full suspensions of this nature however also occur in TAR 12, 30 and 44, while TAR 4, 14 and 50 produce examples stretching to a minimum of ten lines. In addition the Sonnet Sequence provides full suspensions in S S 7, 12, 13 and 14 along with an eight line example in S S 10. Verbal repetition is even more popular. It usually takes the form of a

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1. Ibid., p. 147, p. 191 and p. 180.

single word reiterated initially in the line. As such it further solidifies the list pattern and can be traced in TAR 3, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 46, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 63, 67 and 73. TAR 11 may be quoted as an archetype of Fowler's sonneteering for it unites the list approach to both suspension and initial repetition:

> O wakned thoughts of my incensed mynde,
> Eternall noyes of unconseumed desyres,
> O endles plaintes dispersed in the wynde,
> O sobbs, o sighs, my smokyie vapourd fyres,
> O eyes sent downe from heaunlye thrones and fyres,
> The movers first of my mad mournful muse,
> O uncontrolled love, quho never tyres
> To sakk the humbled hartes and theme abuse,
> O trustles hope, deceaving with excuse,
> Who maks the feblest harts exempt of feares,
> O undecaying doole through ruid refuse,
> O fontaynes tuo of euerflowing teares,
> O undermyning will which works my noy,
> Possess her hart that hathe displaist my Ioy.[1]

Being above all a Petrarchan sonneteer, Fowler also incorporates the favourite Petrarchan devices of antithesis, paradox and wordplay in his poetry. The antitheses sometimes stretch only over a couplet as in TAR 15:

> Cold snowe in harte, and kendled flams in face,
> Reuthe in her broues, bot rigour in her brayne.[2]

More frequently the whole sonnet depends on antithetical constructions for its effect, as in TAR 46:

> Full of desyre bot fraught agane with feare,
> I burne by hope, and by dispaire dois freise;
> With speide I merche, with als much I reteire,
> And bakward the beholds with lotts wyffs eyes;
> I seme content, yet nothing can me pleise ...[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 147.
2. Ibid., p. 149.
3. Ibid., p. 183.

It is used successfully in the Epitaph to Elizabeth Douglas, but once more Fowler tends to mar its force by too frequent repetition. In the Tarantula fairly lengthy antitheses occur in 12, 13, 20, 40, 43, 46, 49, 54, 59, 65 and 69. Many of these antitheses however contain implied paradoxes and this figure of speech is if anything even more popular. The following list of poems and line numbers is almost exhaustive. Those sonnets which are built up on a series of paradoxes are marked with an asterisk. TAR 1/6; 3/12-14; 6/1-3, 8; 12*; 13*; 21/3, 4, 7, 14; 28/3; 34/7; 37/10-12; 40/14; 42*; 54/8; 56/5; 57/7; 58/3, 4; 59/2, 14; 68/4; 69/13, 14. S S 1/14; 4/8, 14; 6/1; 7/10, 14; 15/4. D 4/8; 6/5, 6, 14; 7/1; 9/12, 13. MS 7/14; 15/6; 17/4.

Wordplay as represented by the ioy/noy correspondence on the pther hand is less frequently and more effectively employed. The play on the name of Robert Bowes in the two sonnets on his death is worth mentioning as are the occasional puns on the poet's own name (TAR 64 and S S 2). In addition, word echoing of various types is employed, as in TAR 55, with its "ioyles, ielous man" or TAR 63 where an antonym is carefully interposed between similar words - "the suits sowre sueit".[1] The examples are always well thought out and this is one of the few devices not destroyed by excessive repetition.

In style as well as in themes, Fowler is a Petrarchan, but he lacks the variety and ingenuity of his model. Forty two uses of flame imagery and thirty two examples of verbal repetition are bound to satiate even the most patient of readers. And it is this

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1. Ibid., p. 192 and p. 197.

stylistic rigidity which makes his sonnets, often admirable when seen in isolation, repetitive and monotonous as a group. Fowler may have written more than the other early Scottish sonneteers, but if he had written less, his standing would have been higher. James or Baldynneis may have been similarly limited, either imaginatively or intellecually, but they did not write 129 sonnets and so expose the fact. Fowler in aiming higher, fell lower and marred his capacities for narrative and observation of nature by too facile a choice of images, words and figures of speech.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER

(EARL OF STIRLING)

BIOGRAPHY

The story of William Alexander's life is that of a man of great ambition, brought to ultimate disaster because of too wide a diversification of his talents. As his destiny unfolds itself, from the heights of royal favour to the eventual misery of a bankrupt's death, the reader cannot but be struck by the number of differentiated goals at which he aimed his considerable talents. A man who tries to be at once poet and tax-gatherer; sets himself up as a John Law in financial fields and as a Walter Raleigh in colonisation, yet still finds time to be a privy counsellor, landowner and iron mine proprietor cannot but draw admiration, however unwilling, from the lips of those who observe him.

Although by tradition, the Alexander family claims links with the Lords of the Isles, the poet's first definite ancestor is a Thomas Alexander of Menstrie, who was involved in a land dispute with the Abbot of Cambuskenneth in 1505. The estates of Menstrie passed into the family's possession during the lairdship of his son Alexander in 1526. The poet's father was the fourth laird of Menstrie and married Marion Graham of Menteith. The poet was the eldest of a family of five and the only son.[1]

The date of his birth is uncertain. He did accompany the young Earl of Argyle on a continental tour, and if we suppose that

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1. Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth, p. 86. Hist. MSS Comm., 4th Report, App. p. 483. For death of his father, see Edinburgh Comm. Testaments, Vol. 9.

he was slightly maturer than his companion (b. 1572), then a date in the late 60's would be probable. All this is rather hypothetical and the dogmatism of later biographers seems in advance of the facts. At school level he was taught by Thomas Buchanan, the brother of James's tutor and then appears to have attended Glasgow University. To this preliminary education he added the breadth of knowledge acquired on a continental tour.

The most important early influence however, was his friendship with Alexander Hume, at that time the parish minister in Menstrie. They often visited one another, while Hume's will shows that Alexander was accustomed to borrow from his library:

> Item, I lave to the rycht honorabill the guid man of Menstrie that buik callit Cornelius Agreppa, quhilk he hes of myne.[1]

Despite Alexander's decision to leave Menstrie and head for the glamour of the court, the friendship survived till his death. Hume appointed the poet one of the counsellors to his "wife and bairns" in his will.[2]

It was through his literary activity that Alexander first gained recognition in James's court. In 1603 he published his 'Darius', dedicating it to the king in person, and a formal introduction soon followed. Shortly afterwards the poet became tutor to the Prince of Wales and felt sure enough of his friendship with the king to write a 'Paraenesis', in which the Prince is warned

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1. R. Menzies Fergusson, Alexander Hume (Paisley and London, 1899), p. 103. Alexander was often called "the guid man of Menstrie".

2. Ibid., p. 102. Also mentioned are Ninian Drummond, the minister at Dunblane and John Shearer, later Provest of Stirling.

that wicked ruling will result in deposition:

> Still all those should, who love to keep theire Crowne
> In peace prepare for warre; in warre for peace:
> For as all feare a Prince who dare attempt,
> The want of courage brings one in contempt.[1]

His own ambition too cannot keep silent. In the 'Paraenesis' he longs for Henry's glory, but for his own also:

> I may amongst those bonds thy grace attend,
> And be thy Homer when the warres do end.[2]

Literary ambition has already clashed with the lust for political power and financial gain, which were eventually to condemn Alexander to a pauper's death. Using the royal favour, which in 1608 was to result in his gaining a knighthood, Alexander became tax-collector extraordinary and suffered the first of many financial setbacks.

He was granted the right to gather all those arrears of tax due to James during the years 1547-1588. In most cases this involved appealing to a grandson to pay the debts of a grandfather, now deceased. The exact figures are not available but both McGrail and Rogers agree that while Alexander lost heavily on the deal, James gained. Nor was this the last time on which the king profited at the young courtier's expense.[3] In 1607, Alexander had gained a monopoly on all metal mined in the Menstrie district. Modest

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1. The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, ed. L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1921, 1929), II, 402. Numbering is as in this volume. AUR = Aurora; MP = Miscellaneous Poems.

2. Ibid., p. 404.

3. Charles Rogers, Memorials of the Earl of Stirling, Grampian Club, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877), I, 43. Thomas H. McGrail, Sir William Alexander (Edinburgh and London, 1940), p. 63.

profits ensued, but the 'guidman's' ambition was not satisfied by mere village pottering. He fixed his sights on the king's own silver mine at Hilderston. This mine had once been highly profitable, with a vein two inches thick, producing metal "both malliable and toughe". After passing into the king's hands in 1608, the year of Alexander's knighthood, it had become more and more of a disappointment, as Sir Bevis Bulmer, James's chief metallurgist remarks:

> But when the same mines befell unto the King's Majesty to be superiour or governour thereof, then indeede it was not as rich in silver altogeather.[1]

After granting Alexander the right to gather taxes in a situation where collection was virtually impracticable, James in 1613 gifted him a mine almost devoid of ore. Baldynneis and Montgomerie are therefore not the only Scottish poets with cause to complain of unfair treatment by their king and leader.

Even his election to the position of Master of Requests for Scotland was not without its drawbacks. While it gave him more standing at court, it also began that cooling off in relations between him and his fellow Scots, which was to send him to his grave universally hated by his own kith and kin. His main function appears to have been that of promising attention for minor Scottish matters and then letting them lapse, while the notorious 'Vagrancy Act' was also passed at his instigation. Under its terms, those people allowed to migrate from Scotland to England were restricted to:

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1. McGrail, Alexander, p. 65. See also Reg. Mag. Sig. (1593-1608), VI, Nos. 1973, 2070.

> Gentlemen of good qualitie, merchands for traffiques, or such as shall have a generall license from our Counselle of that kingdome, with expresse prohibitioun to all masters of shippes that they transport no such persones.[1]

The story of Alexander's life is not only that of frustrated dreams. It also tells a less romantic tale of the gradual deterioration of good relationships between him and his fellow countrymen.

Alexander Hume having died, his position as literary counsellor and friend extraordinary had been taken by Drummond of Hawthornden. Drummond had a rather bloated opinion of Alexander's poetic merits and once committed himself to the view that:

> He hath done more in one day, than Tasso did al his lyff, and Bartas in his two weekes.[2]

Even allowing for the wordplay, this is a clear example of over-statement, rendered even more peculiar by its referring to the Doomesday, Stirling's longest and most uninspired work. On the other hand, Alexander did enjoy a high literary reputation in London. He numbered among his close acquaintances, both Drayton and Ben Jonson, the foremost poets of the day. He also was involved in the attempt made by the Society of Antiquaries to form an English Academy on the lines of those in France and Italy. Later Dryden and Swift were to advocate similar schemes, but at Alexander's time the project, like so many of his well-intentioned ventures was doomed to failure. When James dies, Charles made it clear that he did not share his father's enthusiasm for the scheme. Despite

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1. Cited by Rogers, Memorials, I, 49. See McGrail, Alexander, p. 67.

2. Masson, Drummond, p. 41. Cited by Rogers, Memorials, I, 47 and McGrail, Alexander, p. 41.

several attempts at resuscitation, it soon was forgotten by Alexander as well as by the nation in general.[1] By now the 'guidman's' imagination was directed at another goal. The tax-collector manqué, the unsuccessful iron miner, the frustrated language-reformer, all these were to be laid aside and forgotten. Now he was to become 'Sir William Alexander, coloniser and adventurer'.

In 1620 Alexander had been called in to advise Sir Frederick Gorges on the handling of French claims to his New England settlement in America. The poet became so interested that he decided to start a New Scotland as well and got a grant for an area of 60,000 square miles between the St. Croix and the St. Lawrence. His practical knowledge of colonising was nil and his territory bordered on the French settlement of Arcady. Despite these drawbacks he was both optimistic and impatient. A hurried agreement with Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar resulted in the financing of a first expedition in 1622. The party was badly chosen and the planning poor. As a result only one artisan, a blacksmith, joined the group, which was largely composed of criminals and ne-er do wells from Gordon's estates. Also the ship landed them in Newfoundland, before returning to Scotland to re-stock with provisions. It returned to find that among others, "Their minister and smith - both, for Spirituall and temporall respects, the two most necessary members - were both dead".[2] The rest had split up and were earning

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1. McGrail, Alexander, p. 69ff.

2. George Patterson, Sir William Alexander and the Scottish Attempt to Colonize Acadia, Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, Section 2 (London, 1892), p. 85. Sir William Alexander, An Encouragement to Colonies (London, 1624), p. 34.

their living as fishermen, thus leaving the colony sadly disorganized.

Refusing to be discouraged by this inauspicious opening, Alexander pressed ahead with his plans. Despite the loss of £6,000 and the antagonism of the French government, he published his 'Encouragement to the Colonies'. It set out in idealistic terms the advantages of life in Nova Scotia, but according to McGrail, the Scots were not taken in by this highly biassed account.[1] The Earl had recourse to another method, that of creating a new group of nobles, 'The Knights-Baronets of Nova Scotia'. Such hereditary orders had become a commonplace in James's reign and this latest addition met with fierce opposition from the smaller Scottish barons, who foresaw an unwelcome multiplying of their ranks. In short, at all points Alexander met problems and opposition. His first colony had been a gigantic failure; his Encouragement had failed to encourage; the French were irately claiming the territory for themselves; at home, the Barons were trying to prevent his only effective means of financing the project, while already he was deeply in debt himself.[2] Taking all this into account, it is greatly to Alexander's credit that he persevered, sending his own son to lead the second attempt.

In 1628 four ships and 70 colonists landed at Port Royal. They had been chosen on a strict division of labour principle, provisions were adequate to see them through a whole year and generally the lessons of the last attempt had been well learned. Indeed so

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1. McGrail, Alexander, pp. 87-88.

2. Ibid., Chap. 5, pp. 89-104.

successful was the second colonial venture, that the Scottish Privy Council, for so long openly hostile, voiced its approval. The Nova Scotia Barons for example were given the right to wear "Ane orange tannie silk ribban whereon sall hing pendent in a scutcheoun argent a saltoire azier, thairon ane inscutcheoun of the armes of Scotland". Moreover the whole project was judged to be "to the honnour and benefite of that our ancient kingdome".[1] It seemed at last that Alexander's boundless energy and enthusiasm was about to pay dividends.

In 1630 however Charles wrote to the Privy Council outlining French claims on the colony. His new policies of alliance with France rendered recognition of these claims almost necessary, and although he expressed great concern for Alexander's position, the outcome was never in doubt. In vain did the Privy Council appoint a committee on which Alexander served, to discuss the matter. In vain did the committee recommend support for Nova Scotia on the grounds that this was:

> A bussines whiche tuiches your Majesteis honnour, the credite of this your native kingdome and the good of your subjects.[2]

On the 4th July 1631 he was ordered to vacate the colony of its settlers. All his fond dreams, all the hopes of previous years were thus rendered as nothing by a single stroke of the pen. A colossal debt had also accrued and although Charles granted him £10,000 by way of compensation, this sum was never actually paid.

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1. Reg. Privy Council of Scotland (1629-30), III, 2nd Series, 392-3.

2. Ibid. (1630-2), IV, 46-47. See also III, 614.

The guidman of Menstrie was left heir only to a deficit of nearly £20,000, which he valiantly spent the rest of his life trying to repay. But his star was now firmly on the decline.

In Scotland he was hated, for many Scots had lost money over the Nova Scotia venture. This hatred was increased when he became responsible for putting the Edict of Revocation into effect. Land granted to property owners in the reigns of James and Mary was to be returned to the crown. Alexander was thus commonly viewed as a thief of both Scottish land and money. Charles, seeing this, and ashamed of his part in the Nova Scotia affair, tried to improve matters by granting the Earl the right to mint his own copper coinage. Unfortunately in an effort at making quick profits, Alexander flooded the country with his coins at a time when coin values were changing radically. As a result inflation was added to his other sins, and Charles was forced, albeit unwillingly, to declare the currency valueless.[1]

Hardly a soul in Scotland had a good word for the poet. Those who had not lost their money, or were not involved in the Nova Scotia scheme, could not forgive him for composing the psalms in the new prayer book, which Charles was now trying to foist on presbyterian Scotland. His hopes shattered, the love of his fellow Scots alienated, Alexander stumbled on into the last years of his life, disillusioned and with his volcanic enthusiasm waning within him. Even further disasters were hurled at him. His two sons died early, while he himself was wrongfully accused of involvement in Roman

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1. Edmund F. Slafter, The Copper Coinage of the Earl of Stirling (Boston, 1874).

Catholic plots to dethrone the king. Finally broken by the death of his eldest son in December 1639, he followed him to the grave, less than four months afterwards. Disgraceful scenes characterized the funeral. As the coffin approached the cemetery it was stopped and overturned by indignant creditors. Mock epitaphs were composed and circulated, all of which cursed Alexander for undermining the Scottish economy:

> Upone ye twelfe day of Appryle,
> In Stirling kirk and Bowis yle,
> The Nova Scotia Governouris,
> The Tinkeris of ye New Tournours,
> Wes castin in a hole by night,
> For evill doers hattes ye light.[1]

Thus died a man of great vision, whose grandiose schemes were thwarted as much by misfortune as by his own errors.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE

Alexander is the first of a new race of Scottish poets - those whose verse owes more to English traditions than native ones. He was a poet of the London court, mixing with English writers and unlike Fowler, using the English language as his medium. Yet the criticisms of his Maecenas, James VI ("harshe vearses after the Inglishe fasone") or of his editor, Kastner ("mere amorous trifling") are unjust in the extreme. His sonnet sequence, the Aurora is the work of a mature and expert poet, fully deserving the praise bestowed on it by Drayton, Jonson and Drummond. His sonnet output resembles Fowler's in many ways. The Petrarchan images of

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1. Cited in full by Rogers, Memorials, I, 189-90. (Originally from the Balfour MSS). See also Laing MSS (Edinburgh University), II, 521, letter describing Alexander's funeral interleaved between f. 178 and f. 179.

captivity, warfare and nature, so prevalent in the Tarantula, return in the Aurora, while it also has a narrative framework, tracing the course of the poet's love until he opts for marriage and heroic themes instead. On the other hand, its heroine and technique differ greatly from Fowler's. The warlike Bellisa is replaced by Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, an ideal rather than an actual figure. She personifies youthfulness, innocence and springtime, while Bellisa had represented the warlike, destructive aspects of love. Moreover she is throughout, love in the abstract, while Bellisa had been a particular object of the poet's affection. As a result the progression is idealogical rather than narrational. While Fowler tells us the story of a single love affair, Alexander presents us with a detailed and highly complex philosophy of love, unified by a thin thread of narrative.[1]

Thus although Alexander continues the Scottish sonnet's movement from occasional themes to love, composing only nine occasional sonnets out of a total of 114, his sequence presents us with a philosophy rather than a story. The group divisions employed for the Tarantula would be inadequate for the Aurora. Any approach must combine an acknowledgment of narrative framework and idealogical development. At the same time, his dominant theme of love as a reconciliation of opposites, an adaptation of Telesio's theory of nature, must be given primacy, for it is the paradoxicality, the opposing tensions of the passion, which are for Alexander its out-

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1. Kastner's comment in Alexander, Works, II, xvii that the Aurora was suppressed by the poet because of "what it darkly reveals of his private life", is sheer nonsense. The sequence deals with love in general and no lady in particular. In this as well as in his stylistic criticisms, Kastner is mistaken.

standing feature. It is perhaps best therefore to consider the first 25 sonnets and the last four as comprising the narrative introduction and conclusion. The remaining 76 will then be the body of his philosophy of love, discussed in terms of his attitude to lover, lady, fortune and verse.

AURORA Introduction, Sonnets 1 - 25

The Spenserean elements, so strong in this sequence, dominate the opening, with its distinction between love and lust. Alexander is concerned to make the nature of his passion absolutely clear at the outset:

> Not beautie, no, but vertue raisd my fires,
> Whose sacred flame did cherish chaste desires.[1]
>
> My takers state I long'd for to comprise.
> For still I doubted who had made the rape,
> If't was a bodie or an airie shape,
> With fain'd perfections for to mocke the eyes:
> At last I knew 't was a most diuine creature,
> The Crowne of th' Earth, th' excellencie of Nature.[2]

This conception of the lady as an ideal is elaborated on in the third sonnet, which sets her above the artificial Idea of love created by the Greek artist Apelles. Already, the vision of life as a battle of opposites, is being explained. Just as Telesio stated that life originated in an aboriginal conflict between good and evil, so Alexander suggests that his passion is a conflict between love and lust. Just as Telesio asserted that all nature consists of warring opposites, with two extremes present in every situation, so Alexander at once stresses the conflict between body and soul, natural and artificial.

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 1, p. 443.

2. Ibid., AUR 2, p. 443.

The scene of this eternal battle is then removed from the nature of love to the state of the lover himself. There it is even more dramatically represented. Burning at once with lust and love, driven diversely by admiration and fear, by the desire to speak and shame at what he might say, the poet is first pictured frozen into inactivity, by the simultaneous application of opposed stimuli of equal strength. This state is fittingly expressed by the paradox and antithesis of the final couplet in AUR 4:

> Thus Loue mar'd loue, Desire desire restrain'd;
> Of mind to moue a world, I dumbe remain'd.[1]

The paradoxes of love in Alexander's view are indeed antithetical in nature. They consist in simultaneously identifying yourself with the extremes present in any situation. If this attitude is taken to external events, it soon betrays itself in internal conflict:

> Huge hosts of thoughts imbattled in my brest,
> Are euer busied with intestine warres,
> And like to Cadmus earth-borne troupes at iarres,
> Haue spoil'd my soule of peace, themselves of rest.[2]

Incapable of making a firm choice, the poet hovers between conflicting possibilities, loses the capacity for identification with any one attitude, and in the end sacrifices all self-knowledge:

> I liue, I die, I do I wot not what.[3]

Because he is incapable either of committing himself entirely to love or lust, he begins to view himself as a hypocrite, professing platonic affection, but secretly dreaming of sensuality in various forms. This is the problem voiced in AUR 5 with its confession of

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1. Ibid., AUR 4, p. 447.
2. Ibid., AUR 6, p. 447.
3. Ibid., AUR 6, p. 448.

"hideous horrors that my soule contain'd". The problem of appearance and reality, skirted by Fowler, naturally arises at this point, and Alexander characteristically gets at once to the core of this paradox:

> And I could wish to be but as I am,
> If that she knew how I conceale the same.[1]

Wanting to be is not the same as being, and the conflict rather than one of appearance and reality, is between two definitions of reality, the ideal man existing in the imagination, and the actual man reported by the senses. Not having control over either of these modes of apprehension, the poet is aware of at once being sincere and not sincere, of being a worthy lover and an unworthy one.

Conquered by imagination and sensuality in this fashion, his willpower grows so weak as to be almost non-existent. He therefore confuses an undefined aim, with malevolent fortune and a desire for self-destruction:

> Ah what disastrous fortune haue I had!
> Lo still in league with all that may annoy,
> And entred in enimitie with Ioy,
> I entertaine all things that make me sad.[2]

This paradox of loving the source of his misery is closely connected with the previous one. It is his imagination which loves Aurora's perfection while his senses feel misery. He can admire chastity as an ideal, but cannot avoid feeling the side effects of frustration and grief. This problem Alexander like Petrarch and Fowler, expresses in the form of a love/hate paradox.

When in AUR 9 he decides to solve his miseries through writing

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1. Ibid., AUR 5, p. 447.

2. Ibid., AUR 8, p. 448.

about them, a decision which anticipates some modern therapeutic theories of poetry, the various oppositions of love have already been enumerated. Love conflicts with lust; the body with the soul; the ideal with the real; the artificial with the natural. Within the poet, thoughts and attitudes oppose one another; passion opposes reason; fear combats verbal fluency; the ideal and the actual conflict; the imagination and the senses; reality and appearance; love and hate. These are the basic components of the problem he wishes to solve. It constitutes as it were, the proposition. The deduction will follow. But first there are constructions to be made. The poet like the mathematician must decide on a method of approach, before embarking on the journey towards solution.

The attitude he opts for is one of praise, in the face of great difficulties, for the lady is of such beauty that she transcends worldly praise. He can neither understand her perfection, nor express all her favours adequately in verse:

> But what a labour hath my Muse imbrac'd?
> Shall I commend the corall or the snow,
> Which such a sweet embalmed breath did blow,
> That th' orientall odours are disgrac'd?[1]

At the same time she adds further oppositions and paradoxes to the problem of love, being the only creature of truth in a degenerate world; a lady who with all the faculties for choosing "yet can make choice of none"; and a goddess of beauty and virtue, who possesses the cruelty of a tyrant. Even the problem of reality and appearance has a special relevance when applied to her. She is not of

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1. Ibid., AUR 18, p. 460.

this earth, and so in platonic terms is real, when compared to the shadows of this world. At the same time, as far as the poet is conerned, she is unattainable and thus for him has no real existence. Others love real shadows while he loves a shadowy reality, a paradox which he sums up in the final couplet of AUR 19:

> That for the which long languishing I pine,
> It is a show, but yet a show diuine.[1]

Despite her intangibility, her cruelty and the additions she makes to the paradoxical problems of love, Alexander is never in any real doubt as to her value both as an ideal of love and a model to imitate. The duty of his verse is to praise unstintingly, not condemn or pity his own situation as Fowler had done:

> Stay blubring pen to spot one that's so pure;
> She is my loue, although she be unkind,
> I must admire that diamantine mind,
> And praise those eyes that do my death procure (AUR 15)
>
> Loue so engag'd my fancies to that faire,
> That whil'st I liue I shall aduance her name (AUR 16)
>
> Praise-worthy part where praises praise is plac'd
> As th'Oracle of th'Earth beleeu'd below.
> Ile to the world thy beauties wonders show. (AUR 18)[2]

Aurora is seen throughout in a more spiritual, laudatory light than Bellisa, with divine imagery much more frequent than that of warfare. This is one of the cardinal differences between the two sequences.

The introduction to Alexander's sequence then states the problem of love in terms of opposition and paradox, dealing in turn with the passion in general (AUR 1-3), with the lover (AUR 4-9) and

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1. Ibid., AUR 19, p. 460.

2. Ibid., p. 458, p. 459, p. 460.

with the lady (AUR 10-19). The decisions to solve the problem through verse and that this verse must aim to praise are also made. The final advance is one from the level of statement to that of enactment. This is done in AUR 20-25, where the poet's state is expressed by placing him in Hell:

> Unhappie ghost go waile thy griefe below,
> Where neuer soule but endlesse horror sees.[1]

The aptitude of Hell as a dwelling place is then developed in terms of his misery and the eternal torments of the damned; of the flames of his passion as well as those of Hell; of his mental torment and the possibility of this being caused by the Furies of the underworld. But even in this new dramatic expression of the situation, paradoxicality is the dominant factor. For Hell is the reward for worshipping an apparent Goddess. This is the point of the swain/serpent fable of AUR 24 and the river/nectar allegory of AUR 25. The lady seems innocent like the serpent, attracts love, yet has the power to kill. She is divine, can promise nectar, yet it is nectar which burns and consumes. She is therefore at once goddess and devil, at once the provider of divine food and the destroyer of man. She can give to man a vision of heaven, but the cost of this vision is to view it through the pains of Hell. All the previous paradoxes are thus contained in this final dramatic dichotomy of Heaven and Hell. With this the introduction ends.

The essentially Petrarchan nature of these first twenty five sonnets need not be emphasised. Alexander's spiritual Aurora, the ideal of love, half-human half-divine is closer to Laura than

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1. Ibid., AUR 20, p. 464.

Fowler's Bellisa. Petrarch's view of love had included the element of paradoxicality emphasised by the Scottish sonneteer. Those sonnets setting out the contrarieties of the poet's state, the conflict between beauty and cruelty in the lady, between love and lust or reality and appearance, all echo themes, first broached in the Rime. If the Death sequence and greater interest in narrative shown in the Tarantula give it an apparently heavier Petrarchan bias than the Aurora, closer study shows the latter sequence to be a more adequate mirror of Petrarchan philosophy. Fowler lacked the depth of thought to delineate this outlook on love in all its complexity, but Alexander's intellect accepted the challenge, even expanding on the problems indicated by the Italian.[1]

On the other hand, this increase in thought content is linked with a repetitive, rather conventional use of imagery. The images of nature, which characterised the Tarantula seldom appear in Alexander's sequence. Logically, the main exception to this rule is that of dawn imagery, for Aurora is above all the "sweet blushing goddesse of the golden morning". Her first meeting with the poet in AUR 3 is described in terms of the sun rising over green fields early in the day, and the Phoebus/lady parallel is repeated time and again throughout the sequence. Alexander uses the comparison to focus attention on two aspects of Aurora's nature, her divinity and the warmth of passion she awakens in the poet. Of these the latter is exhaustively repeated through imagery of flame and fire. Of the

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1. Drummond committed himself to this view. "Among our English poets, Petrarch is imitated .... in manner the nearest I find to him is W. Alexander." Cited in Masson, Drummond, p. 80.

introductory sonnets, no fewer than ten mention the burning, spiritualising force of love. It is for example "a sacred flame" which cherishes chaste desires, but also it is "fin'd and refin'd too oft" threatening to consume the poet, a flame which will shortly make him "fall downe in ashes". In terms of the paradoxicality of love, it is spiritually creative but physically destructive. In terms of natural oppositions, it is setagainst the frosts of the lady's rigour in AUR 4 and against the floods of the poet's tears in AUR 12.

Thus while most of the drama present in the Aurora stems from the argument, the imagery is for the most part uninspired. Indeed its main purpose seems to be to underline the major thesis of love as opposition, for the lady is seen now as a goddess, now as a serpent (devil); now as a malicious tyrant, now as a healing surgeon. Imagery in Alexander's sonnets is subservient to philosophical outlook.

AURORA Philosophy of Love, Sonnets 26 - 101

Alexander views the problems of love in two main ways, first of all with relation to the Pagan Gods and fortune, secondly in terms of opposition. His state before the arrival of Aurora is one of complete enmity to the passion as symbolised by Cupid. The god however plots to overthrow him:

> Loue swore by Styx whil'st all the depths did tremble,
> That he would be aueng'd of my proud hart,
> Who to his Deitie durst base styles impart. (AUR 46)[1]

This attitude to the pagan gods is in accordance with Ficinian philosophy and the belief that while the gods could influence human

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 46, p. 480.

behaviour, a strong human will could defeat them. Initially then the poet views himself as strong and in control of himself. His descent into the abyss of passion and helplessness is first announced by the arrival of Aurora, sent expressly by Cupid for this purpose:

> A Nymph that long'd to finish Cupids toyles,
> Chanc'd once to spie me come in beauties bounds,
> And straight orethrew me with a world of wounds,
> Then unto Paphos did transport my spoiles.[1]

Naturally superior to Cupid, the poet is defeated by the lady, and at once plumbs the depths of love. There is no gradual progression as in Fowler's sequence, for the affection is from the outset Platonic. The poet is therefore more concerned with Telesian oppositions than the Ficinian ladder, the ascent of which seems easy to him.

After having been subdued by Aurora however, two further revolutions take place. He becomes subservient to Cupid as well. Both the lady-goddess and the pagan gods now control him. This situation is excellently described in AUR 49, where his previous mastery over Venus is likened to the ravaging of her homeland Cyprus, by the Turks. By making her temple in Aurora however, the goddess reasserts her right to rule:

> She in those rosie snowes t'enstall her name,
> Reares stately altars in thy starrie eyes,
> Before whose sacred shrine deuinely faire,
> Brests boyling still with generous desires,
> Fall sacrific'd with memorable fires.[2]

This sonnet is especially appealing, for it makes use of imagery of warfare and sacrifice, while linking them to the unusual conceit of the Turkish ravaging. Alexander's verse, if anything concentrates

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1. Ibid., AUR 46, p. 481.

2. Ibid., AUR 49, p. 486.

too much on direct argument, to the detriment of conceits and imagery, so the visual and imaginative qualities of this poem are especially notable.

At the same time Aurora, the messenger of Cupid, asserts her superiority over the blind god in AUR 50. In an attempt to aid the poet he fires his arrows at her, but she catches them in the "cristall quivers" in her eyes:

> And wherehe hop'd t'haue help'd me by this strife,
> He brought her armes wherewith to take my life.[1]

One is thus presented with a hierarchy of influence, with Aurora ruling over Cupid, who in turn controls the poet. Subject to a dual tyranny, Alexander alternates between laments against Cupid (e.g. AUR 80) and those against his lady (e.g. AUR 94). His feeling of impotence is therefore closely connected with the sense of fate, and powers determining his life through supernatural influence. It is however noticeable, that while fate and fortune are frequently mentioned, the pagan gods are not nearly so common as in the Tarantula. Only Cupid reappears with any frequency, thus further stressing the point that ingenuity of thought is in the Aurora linked to repetitive use of the most common images. Indeed so frequently do some recur that they have almost the force of symbols, with set philosophical values. In this sense Cupid represents the blind power of love activated by the lady, and so becomes more an intellectual counter than an imaginative creation.

Having succumbed to the passion, Alexander finds love a thing of tensions, of unreconciled opposites. His task is therefore to

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1. Ibid., AUR 50, p. 486.

synthesise these conflicts as successfully as possible, For example, in AUR 89 he faces the paradox of a mortal daring to love a goddess:

> I wot not what transported hath my mind,
> That I in armes against a goddesse stand.[1]

In this case the dichotomy is resolved, by referring to the successful mortal-goddess relationships of pagan mythology. If Anchises could gain Venus and Peleus win Thetis, then Alexander and Aurora can yet overcome the differences in their nature. The fact of a match between creatures on different levels of the hierarchical chain, cannot be entirely ignored however, and this constitutes one of the main paradoxes of their love.

There is secondly the harmony/chaos contrast. Alexander is aware that in his soul passion rules reason, rendering his will almost powerless. This expresses itself in the form of heart ruling over judgment, as in AUR 81:

> But now I see my will is not mine owne.
> Then ah, may you bewitch my iudgement so,
> That I must loue, although my heart say no![2]

and in his fostering misery through cherishing the love which causes it. This love/hate tension is given a novel turn of expression in AUR 75, where the poet for once uses natural imagery, likening the cruel kindness of his love thoughts to the fatal embraces of the parent ape:

> But ah, I feare that their affections trie
> In end like th'Apes, that whil'st he seekes to proue
> The powrefull motions of a parent's loue,

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1. Ibid., AUR 89, p. 511.

2. Ibid., AUR 81, p. 503.

> Doth oft embrace his young ones till they die:
> So to my heart my thoughts do cleaue so fast,
> That o, I feare they make it burst at last.[1]

The lady is once again the complete opposite of this. There are many sonnets setting out her state of harmony, but the fullest expression appears in AUR 48. There the vast difference between her and the poet is clearly stated, for in her, virtue rules instead of desire; reason instead of passion; the will is unchallenged and the judgment infallible:

> Still vertue holds the ballance of thy wit,
> In which great reason ponders euery thought,
> And thou deare Ladie neuer staind in ought,
> Thus ore thy selfe dost as an Empresse sit.[2]

Faced with this paragon of divine perfection, the poet's excessive humility and frequent bouts of tongue-tied silence become understandable.

On the other hand in the midst of these harmony/chaos; reason/passion; virtue/lust contrasts, there is one further paradox, which the poet cannot account for. His love did not like Fowler's begin in the senses. Aurora first tempted him through the intellect, the governing element in a harmonious soul. This is not only contrary to the Ficinian ladder of love, but actually turns it upside down, for his progression has been one from platonism to passion, from harmony to chaos instead of vice versa. This, one of the most difficult paradoxes of the sequence, is a recurrent theme, but best explained in the battle imagery of AUR 32:

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1. Ibid., AUR 75, p. 499.
2. Ibid., AUR 48, p. 483.

> I brau'd thy beauties in a gallant sort,
> And did resist all thy assaults a time:
> But ah, I find in end, (my wrack thy crime)
> That treason enters in the strongest fort.
> Thou seeing thou wast like to lose the field,
> Unto my thoughts some fauour didst impart,
> Which like brib'd Orators inform'd the hart.[1]

To it, Alexander finds no solution, nor does he even attempt one.

So far all the contrasts have favoured the lady. In some aspects of his affection however, the poet deems himself superior. His passion is for example, basically altruistic, being founded on a vow to love the lady despite all setbacks. She is however tyrannous and seems motivated by selfishness. Indeed, it seems possible that she loves herself more than him. The final couplet of AUR 26 warns against this tendency:

> But do not fall in loue with thine owne selfe;
> Narcissus earst was lost on such a shelfe.[2]

Also, of necessity rather than design, the poet's love is sincere. Impotent in the hands of a governing passion, he is incapable of any major subterfuge. Silence for fear of voicing lustful thoughts is the extent of his cunning, and this silence itself is caused more by awe than duplicity. It is the lady who is a master in the art of making appearance bely reality. Her face speaks of pity, while her heart tells the truth of tyranny:

> I know when as thou seem'st to waile my state,
> Thy face is no true table of thy mind.[3]

His on the other hand cannot disguise the misery he feels, and thus ironically the sincerity of his passion defeats her cunning. In

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1. Ibid., AUR 32, p. 473.
2. Ibid., AUR 26, p. 467.
3. Ibid., AUR 43, p. 479.

his features people learn of her tyranny:

> The world that views this strange triumphall arke,
> Reades in my lookes as lines thy beauties deeds,
> Which in each mind so great amazement breeds,
> That I am made of many eyes the marke.[1]

The reality/appearance paradox is one of Alexander's favourites and he explores both the lady's veiling of cruelty with false promises (AUR 92) and the difference between actual happiness and that experienced in dreams (AUR 51). Her cunning and his naivety are nevertheless further examples of the oppositions present in their relationship. She is constant in her rigour or cruelty, while he tosses from one extreme to another in true Petrarchan fashion. This paradox is one to which he finds a number of possible solutions. The extremities of his state are themselves matched by the constancy of his love:

> I euer muse, yet am without all care,
> And shout aloud, yet neuer straine my breath:
> I change as oft as any wind can do,
> Yet for all this am euer constant too,[2]

while the alternations are, like Nature, part of a greater unchangeable pattern:

> Oft haue I heard, which now I must deny,
> That nought can last if that it be extreame.[3]

In stressing this, it should be remembered that Alexander is opposing the key theory in James's philosophy, that of temperance.[4] The

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1. Ibid., AUR 96, p. 514.
2. Ibid., AUR 68, p. 496.
3. Ibid., AUR 63, p. 492.
4. For the fullest statement of James's theory of temperance, see The Basilicon Doron of King James VI, ed. James Craigie, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1943), I (Text).

contrarieties and excessive passions of love may come and go, but like Spring, they are durable.

The love depicted in the Aurora is thus in all senses a love between opposites. It is the love of man for goddess, of person for ideal. In the one all is chaos, passion rules, the judgment is blinded and lust is ever insidiously present. In the other there is eternal harmony, and the rule of reason and virtue. His sincerity is matched by her cunning, his altruism by her selfishness. Finally, while she is constant in cruelty but expresses this in varying moods of pity and tyranny, his constancy is one of love, with moods of alternating joy and sorrow. The law of life, Telesio had said, is the law of opposition. So, Alexander might have said, is that of love.

Underlying all these contrasts however, the poet expresses his faith in three ideas, and it is this faith which brings him successfully through the passion. The eternal misery of his lot is lessened by a belief in adversity as the surest bed for truth. The view of love as opposition is thus answered by a philosophy based on paradox:

> The most refreshing waters come from rockes,
> Some bitter rootes oft send foorth daintie flowres,
> The growing greenes are cherished with showres,
> And pleasant stemmes spring from deformed stockes.[1]

All nature obeys the doctrine of opposition, so his love is condoned by natural law. Viewed on its own, his misery is insoluble, but referred to a Telesian view of nature, it holds out hope of later joy. The idea of contrast is thus allied to one of balance

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 79, p. 502.

and synthesis. As evil and good joined to create the world, so from the love of man and goddess, something of great value will come. It is in this context that the final couplet of AUR 33 should be read:

> And whil'st we thus should make our sorrowes one,
> This happie harmonie would make them none,[1]

while the maxim of Alexander's 'Academe of Loue' in AUR 44 must be similarly interpreted:

> And to what greater joy can one aspire,
> Then to possesse all that he doth desire,
> Whil'st two united soules do melt in pleasure?
> This is the greatest good can be inuented,
> That is so great it cannot be augmented.[2]

Opposition, as expressed in their love is at once in harmony with nature and leads to a later synthetic harmony. These are the major consolations on which Alexander relies. But even if their love were not to achieve fruition, he could still find philosophical comfort, for aspiration is its own reward. This is the theme of AUR 27:

> No, since it is my fortune to be thrall,
> I must be fettred with a golden band;
> .....
> At least by this I haue allow'd of fame,
> Much honour if I winne, if lose, no shame.[3]

It is especially important to realise when reading these sonnets, expressive for the most part of pessimism and conflict, that alongside them there runs a triple philosophy, capable of coping with all love's conflicts. Otherwise the sudden rejection of love for heroic themes might seem a gesture of defeat, the final poem on

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1. Ibid., AUR 33, p. 474.
2. Ibid., AUR 44, p. 480.
3. Ibid., AUR 27, p. 467.

marriage a hurriedly added irrelevance. The contrasts of Alexander's passion are justified through nature, union and aspiration.

Contrasting imagery still underlines the dominant theme of the sequence. Most noticeably the habit of making parts of the body symbolise attitudes, is borrowed from the French. In the poet, heart opposes body (AUR 66), eye opposes mind (AUR 77) and the body of a kiss is set against its soul (AUR 29). Imagery of this nature suggests the conflict between passion and will, senses and imagination, lust and platonic love. At the same time a sense of paradoxicality is suggested by using metaphors with diverse significances. In AUR 42 Alexander wishes he were the lady's mirror, for then he could gaze at her, while she could see herself in him. Contemplation reminds him that no such mutation is necessary, for already he performs a mirroring function:

> But ah, I seeke that which I haue, and more,
> She but too oft in me her picture spies.[1]

The mirror metaphor thus imaginatively restates the fact of love's complexity, producing the paradox of his wish to become a looking glass, when figuratively that already. The metaphor thus points in two opposing directions, with each cancelling out the necessity for the other.

Imagery suggestive of sensual love also increases in this portion of the sequence, for it marks a stage of confusion between two moments of platonic certainty. Thus while the divine imagery of temple and sacrifice continues in AUR 49 and 90 respectively, AUR 78 is strongly reminiscent of Ronsard:

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1. Ibid., AUR 42, p. 479.

> I chanc'd my deare to come upon a day,
> Whil'st thou wast but arising from thy bed,
> And the warme snowes with comely garments cled;
> More rich then glorious, and more fine then gay;
> Then blushing to be seene in such a case,
> O how thy curled lockes mine eyes did please,
> And well become those waues, thy beauties seas,
> Which by thy haires were fram'd upon thy face.[1]

The bed imagery, as well as "warme snowes" and "blushing" (which have conventional connections with the mixing of red guilt and white purity) both suggest the desire for physical love, elsewhere restrained in the Aurora. Thus as the tension between love and lust increases, so sensual imagery begins to vie with its spiritual counterpart in importance. Visual images become more frequent, but still Alexander is more concerned with putting his ideas across than representing them by ingenious, association-provoking images. Metaphysical tendencies in his verse as in Fowler's are only occasionally displayed.

AURORA Conclusion, Sonnets 102 - 105

If the Aurora had been regarded as telling the story of the poet's love, these four sonnets would be almost inexplicable. After discussing his tormented passion for over a hundred sonnets, Alexander suddenly sees her virtue

> was but working all things for the best,[2]

praises marriage rather than Petrarchan love and in the final sonnet decides to

> Tune my accents to a trumpet now,
> And seeke the Laurell in another field.[3]

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1. Ibid., AUR 78, p. 500.
2. Ibid., AUR 103, p. 519.
3. Ibid., AUR 105, p. 520.

An affection which has not varied in depth from beginning to end of the sequence suddenly flashes out of existence in the final fourteen lines. If the series were primarily a narrative, Alexander would be a much inferior storyteller to Fowler.

As has been indicated however, the Aurora is philosophical in content, with a less obvious idealogical progression. What the final four sonnets and song do is to summarise the various points of argument and draw dogmatic conclusions for the first time. In AUR 102 he chooses love rather than lust:

> To yeeld to those I cannot but disdaine,
> Whose face doth but entangle foolish hearts;
> It is the beautie of the better parts,
> With which I mind my fancies for to chaine.[1]

He rejects the sensual Ronsardian imagery, which had been considered as a possible expression of love in the central part of the sequence:

> Those that have nought wherewith mens minds to gaine,
> But onely curled lockes and wanton lookes,
> Are but like fleeting baites that haue no hookes.[2]

The image of the "curled lockes", used in the most Ronsardian of his poems, AUR 78 is cast aside, and a higher poetic vein anticipated. Those who take a sensual attitude to love see only the appearance, forsaking truth:

> He, who as 'twere was with the maske in loue,
> What doth he thinke when as he sees the face?
> No doubt being lim'd by th'outward colours so,
> That inward worth would neuer let him go.[3]

In AUR 103 he turns his attention to those paradoxes centring round Aurora and decides that she was right to let virtue rule her soul,

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1. Ibid., AUR 102, p. 518.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., AUR 102, p. 519.

and that the cruelty/beauty opposition was only apparent. At heart her love was real, her intentions merciful:

> Long time I did thy cruelties detest,
> And blaz'd thy rigor in a thousand lines;
> But now through my complaints thy vertue shines,
> That was but working all things for the best.[1]

The last main paradox, that of body and soul is decided in AUR 104 in favour of the latter:

> No, no, my loue, and that which makes me thrall,
> Shall onely be entrusted to my soule,[2]

while he restates his faith in his triple philosophy of perseverance. The period of "wrestling with despair" mentioned in AUR 103 was part of her divine plan to make him a finer man, just as the lesson of aspiration, truly learned leads him to attempt greater poetic feats in AUR 105 and the lesson of union produces the praise of marital harmony in Song 10.

In short this final movement sees both a reaffirmation of Alexander's three philosophical rules and a choice made in each of the main paradoxes of love. Predictably he chooses a platonic love of reason, harmony, the soul, mercy and the reality of the Idea. If his philosophical explorations in the central sonnets have been properly understood these choices and the final decision to seek another theme become a natural conclusion to an intriguing pattern of ideas. He does not cry:

> Awake my Muse, and leaue to dreame of loues,
> Shake off soft fancies chaines, I must be free[3]

because he is suddenly tired of his lady or because she prefers the

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1. Ibid., AUR 103, p. 519.
2. Ibid., AUR 104, p. 519.
3. Ibid., AUR 105, p. 520.

aged suitor of AUR 99. He moves on from the theme of love, because he has carefully discussed the nature of that emotion and advanced a consistent account of how best to regard it. It is the philosophy of love in general not the story of a love in particular which is concluded.

OTHER THEMES

While Nature does play some part in the Aurora it is Fortune and the Gods which really rule the poet. Their influence is almost always malevolent, and frequently, as in AUR 8, he speaks of Fortune in despairing tones:

> Ah what disastrous fortune haue I had!
> Lo still in league with all that may annoy,
> And entred in enimitie with Ioy,
> I entertaine all things that make me sad.[1]

The movement from the 'Early Castalian' to the 'Sonnet Sequence' periods is marked not only by an increasing interest in love, but by the growth of Petrarchan pessimism. Fate played an important part in James's poetry, but it was not so directly opposed to human interests as its counterpart in Tarantula or Aurora. In each the lady outgrows mere personality and becomes in part a symbol for the more malicious elements in life. Bellisa is predominantly viewed as the nature goddess, opposing man with all the cruelty of bad weather. Aurora is a fate goddess, sent by the pagan gods, expressly to punish the poet:

> The gods did one of theirs, to th'earth transferre,
> And with as many blessings following her,
> As earst Pandora kept of plagues in store.
> She since she came within this wretched vale,
> Doth in each mind a loue of glorie breed;

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1. Ibid., AUR 8, p. 448.

> Bettering the better parts that haue most need,
> And shewes how worldlings to the clouds may scale:
> She cleares the world, but ah hath darkned me,
> Made blind by her, my selfe I cannot see.[1]

The parallel with Pandora is especially appropriate, for it highlights the dual vision, which Alexander uses for his heroine. She is at once a beneficent divinity, capable of raising him to higher things, and a malicious force, bent on his destruction.

Seen in her negative aspect, she is closely linked with the pagan gods. In AUR 74 her personality is analysed into the qualities of Saturn, Jove, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Venus and Phoebus. At her worst she becomes connected with the furies and witchcraft:

> In this curst brest, borne onely to be pin'd,
> Some furie hath such fantasies infus'd,
> That I though with her cruelties well us'd,
> Can daigne my selfe to serue one so inclin'd.
>
> I wonder not at Procris raging fits,
> Who was affraid of thy entangling grace:
> O there be many sorcerers in thy face,
> Whose Magicke may enchaunt the rarest wits.[2]

Always hpwever she is a force of supernatural strength, driving him into constant misery. As a result the person of Aurora and the concept of Fortune become almost interchangeable in this sequence. In AUR 76 when he appeals:

> What fortune strange, what strange misfortune erst
> Did tosse me with a thousand things in vaine,
> Whiles sad despaires confounded did remaine?[3]

the reference is to Aurora. For she is at one and the same time Fortune's tool and its embodiment.

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1. Ibid., AUR 60, p. 490.
2. Ibid., AUR 21, p. 465 and AUR 45, p. 480.
3. Ibid., AUR 76, p. 500.

The difference between Fowler's heroine and Alexander's is less in conception then imaginative representation. Both are fate figures. But while Fowler uses Nature in peaceful and cruel moods to depict the varying state of Fortune, Alexander prefers to personify Fortune itself or dramatise the opposition in terms of pagan and divine. In the Tarantula green fields are set against storms. In the Aurora, the heroine is variously viewed as Christian priestess and as witch cum fury cum malicious fate figure.[1] In both too the destructive element dominates. There are many more storms than green fields, and so Fowler builds up a picture of oppressive misery. Alexander's technique is slightly more complex, for the lady is seen more frequently as saint than devil. But, the poet being weak, her saintly ways bring devilish effects, and he attends her temple more often to sacrifice himself than worship joyously. His bad fortune indeed consists in his being too impure to enjoy serving a chaste saint. As a result, both poets suffer continuously at the hands of their fate-goddesses, although Fowler finds himself relief in his escapes from passion, Alexander in his philosophical stoicism.

Alexander's interest in cosmology and astrology is slight, although the zodiac is mentioned in AUR 37. He does however re-introduce into the Scottish sonnet that note of social criticism, detected in the early Castalians, but omitted by Fowler. As Montgomerie lamented the state of contemporary life, comparing it with the Golden Ages of the past, so does Alexander in AUR 11:

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1. It is possible that the witch imagery may have been caused to some extent by James VI's interest in witch craft and especially by his Daemonologie (Edinburgh, 1597).

> Ah that it was my fortune to be borne,
> Now in the time of this degener'd age,
> When some, in whom impietie doth rage,
> Do all the rest discredit whil'st they scorne.
> And this is growne to such a custome now,
> That those are thought to haue the brauest spirits,
> Who can faine fancies and imagine merits:
> As who but for their lusts of loue allow.[1]

But there are two differences. Alexander's approach is personal rather than patriotic. He is concerned for himself rather than society generally. Also the moral considerations he enumerates are subsidiary to love and he can be reconciled to general depravity by the thought of one lady's virtue:

> And yet in this I had good hap, I find,
> That chanc'd to chaine my thoughts to such an one,
> Whose judgement is so cleare, that she anone
> Can by the outward gestures iudge the mind.[2]

This new bias of attitude continues in AUR 97, where he decides not to envy "those of the golden age", because Aurora was not then alive. At this period, the moral and social aspects of the Scottish sonnet are almost wholly subsidiary to love.

INFLUENCES

Alexander like Fowler is only slightly influenced by earlier Scottish literature. There are minor echoes of Dunbar, Henryson and Alexander Montgomerie in the Aurora, but these are not definite enough to warrant further exploration. On the whole Alexander, like Fowler, seems to be determined to break away from his native roots and seek inspiration abroad. This was a tendency which James VI had noticed and chided in one of his sonnets:

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 11, p. 457.

2. Ibid.

> Although your neighbours have conspir'd to kille
> That arte that did the laurell croune obteyne
> Who borrowing from the Rauen theyr ragged quille
> Bewray their hard harsh trotting tumbling veyne;
> Such hammering harde youre mettles harde require
> Our songes are filld with smoothelie flowing fire.[1]

Conscious of the falling away in poetic standards since the time of Sir David Lindsay, Scottish poets may have hoped to resurrect these standards by a desertion of earlier tradition.

Alexander like the others certainly turned to the pléiade for aid, although with less frequency than the early Castalians. From Du Bellay's Antiquités No. 10 ('Plus qu'aux bords Aeteans le brave filz d'Aeson') he may have got the model for his sonnet on the golden fleece legend, AUR 41 ('If that so many braue men leauing Greece'). Similarly the opening to AUR14:

> When first I view'd that ey-enchanting face,
> Which for the world chiefe treasure was esteem'd,

is reminiscent of the first couplet in Regrets No. 185:

> Quand ceste belle fleur premièrement je vey,
> Qui nostre aage de fer de ses vertus redore.[2]

Alexander was certainly acquainted with Du Bellay's work and his poetic representation of his friendship for Drummond via the Damon/Alexis legend was probably suggested by Songe 1, ('C'estoit alors que le présent des Dieux').

Ronsard seems to supply little of his inspiration although AUR 68:

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1. "The Complainte of the Muses to Alexander", The Poems of James VI of Scotland, ed. James Craigie, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1958), p. 115.

2. Ibid., AUR 14, p. 458. Du Bellay, Les Antiquitez de Rome et Les Regrets, ed. E. Droz (Paris, 1945), p. 148.

I hope, I feare, resolu'd, and yet I doubt,
I'm cold as yce, and yet I burne as fire

is closer to Amours No. 12:

J'espère et crains, je me tais et supplie,
Or je suis glace, et ores un feu chault[1]

than to any of Petrarch's contrariety sonnets. From Desportes too may have come Alexander's interest in the rebellious tongue, which refuses to plead the lover's suits. Both AUR 35 and AUR 71 deal with this topic and bear a close relationship to Hippolyte 83, ('Langue muette à mon secours tardive'). But Alexander's debts to the pléiade are rather shadowy. He clearly was aware of their work, but seldom translates more than a couplet, before adapting the French theme to his own purposes. A typical example is AUR 103. The first two lines:

Long time I did thy cruelties detest,
And blaz'd thy rigor in a thousand lines

appear to have been suggested by the opening of Marot's Chanson 23:

Long temps y a que je vys en espoir,
Et que Rigueur a dessus moy pouvour.[2]

But while the French poet goes on to urge vengeance against his cruel mistress, Alexander is able to reconcile himself to Aurora's tyranny. Like Fowler he uses French sources infrequently and sparingly, preferring to break away from Castalian example and seek foreign influences elsewhere. Like Fowler too he first resorts to Italy and to the sonnets of Petrarch in particular.

Both Alexander's philosophy of love's paradoxicality and the

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 68, p. 496. Ronsard, Oeuvres, IV, 16.

2. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 103, p. 519. Clément Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, ed. C. A. Mayer (London, 1964), p. 193.

narrative framework which surrounds it have distinctly Petrarchan origins. The Scottish poet pictured himself as originally a proud foe of love, eventually humbled by that god through Aurora:

> Loue swore by Styx whil'st all the depths did tremble,
> That he would be aueng'd of my proud heart,
> Who to his Deitie durst base style impart,
> .....
> A Nymph that long'd to finish Cupids toyles,
> Chanc'd once to spie me come in beauties bounds,
> And straight orethrew me with a world of wounds.

There is a strong similarity between this successful assault and that achieved over Petrarch in Sonnet 2:

> Per fare una leggiadra sua vendetta
> E punire in un di ben mille offese,
> Celatamente Amor l'arco riprese,
> .....
> Pero turbata nel primiero assalto,
> Non ebbe tanto ne vigor, ne spazio
> Che potesse al bisogno prender l'arme.[1]

Aurora like Laura is thus victorious over one not naturally attracted by sensuality. Like Laura her triumph is as much mental as physical and like Laura she awakens in the poet a full awareness of the many contradictions of love.

In almost every facet of his paradoxical philosophy, Alexander is anticipated by Petrarch. Love's first effect is for each the destruction of personal harmony, so that the poet feels at war with himself. The tongue for example refuses to obey the mind, and Alexander expostulates:

> Once to debate my cause whil'st I drew neere,
> My staggering toung against me did conspire. (AUR 4)

But Petrarch had already described exactly the same situation:

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 46, p. 480. Petrarch, Rime, p. 4.

Perch'io t'abbia guardato di menzogna
A mio podere et onorato assai,
Ingrata lingua, gia pero non m'ai
Renduto onor, ma fatto ira e vergogna. (S 49)[1]

In AUR 93 and 94 the eyes and heart rebel against the mind, leaving it powerless, and thus echoing the doctrine expounded in Petrarch's 84th sonnet:

Occhi piangete, accompagnate il core,
Che di vostro fallir morte sostene.[2]

This type of situation leads to dialogue sonnets conducted between the poet and his heart. Such a one is AUR 66 in which Alexander condemns that organ as "the hatefull traitor that procur'd my fall". Once again however Petrarch originated this approach in Sonnet 150:

"Che fai alma? che pensi? avrem mai pace?
Avrem mai tregua? od avrem guerra eterna?"[3]

Although the Italian poet is less agressive, he does subject his heart to a gruelling interrogation, accusing it of causing him misery. All these pairs of sonnets are closely connected, with the strong probability that the Petrarchan one is in each case a direct source. Certainly the progression from an unexpected defeat by Cupid to sudden loss of internal harmony is adopted by both poets, with striking similarities of imagery.

Many of the paradoxes highlighted by Alexander are also derived from Petrarch. The contrast between the poet's cheerful appearance and actual melancholy as described in AUR 86 had already been fully explored by the Italian in Sonnet 102:

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 4, p. 447. Petrarch, Rime, p. 69.
2. Petrarch, Rime, p. 123.
3. Ibid., Rime, p. 216.

E cosi aven che l'animo ciascuna
Sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto
Ricopre co la vista or chiara or bruna.[1]

The opposition between reason and passion set out in AUR 6 and 81 had also been anticipated in Sonnet 178 ('Amor mi sprona in un tempo ed affrena'), while there are close parallels between AUR 58 and Sonnet 145. In both the poet contrasts his own constancy with the mutability of nature and cites a number of unlikely situations which would occur before a breach in his fidelity:

First shall each river turne unto the spring,
The tallest Oke stand trembling like a reed,
Harts in the aire, Whales on the mountaines feed,
And foule confusions seaze on euery thing;
Before that I begin to change in ought,
Or on another but bestow one thought.

Petrarch forsakes the imagery of disorder and instead enumerates a number of extreme conditions under which he will remain faithful:

Pommi in cielo od in terra od in abisso,
In alto poggio, in valle ima e palustre,
Libero spirto od a' suoi membri affisso;
Pommi con fama oscura o con illustre:
Saro qual fui, vivro com'io son visso,
Continuando il mio sospir trilustre.[2]

Despite this difference in imagery, the theme is in each case exactly the same and there can be little doubt that the Scottish poet was once again conscious of Petrarchan influence when composing his sonnet.

A number of more particular parallels must also be noted. The mirror conceit employed by Alexander so successfully in AUR 42 is derived from Petrarch's 45th and 46th sonnets ('Il mio avversario, in cui veder solete', and 'L'oro e le perle, e i fior

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1. Ibid., Rime, p. 141.

2. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 58, p. 490. Petrarch, Rime, p. 211.

vermigli e i bianchi'). The work in which he apostrophises the River Po, AUR 53 was probably occasioned by Petrarch's address to that river in Sonnet 180 ('Po, ben puo' tu portartene la scorza'). Even closer is the link between AUR 36 and Sonnet 208 ('Rapido fiume, che d'alpestra vena'), both of which ask a river to carry messages to the beloved because they will reach her dwelling in advance of the poet. Other similarities of this nature could be produced, but a final example must suffice. No reader of Alexander's poetry could forget AUR 73, in which he describes his feelings on seeing the lady shield her eyes with her hand:

> When whiles thy daintie hand doth crosse my light,
> It seems an yuorie table for Loues storie,
> On which th'impearled pillars, beauties glorie,
> Ar rear'd betwixt the Sunne and my weake sight.[1]

The occasion is of such an unusual nature, and Alexander recounts it with such tenderness, that one is tempted to consider it a real event, contrary to the impression conveyed by the rest of the sequence. It is however merely a restatement of two of Petrarch's sonnets, No. 38 ('Orso, e' non furon mai fiumi ne stagni') and No. 257 ('In quel bel viso ch' i' sospiro e bramo'). Of these the latter describes Laura's action in greater detail:

> In quel bel viso ch' i' sospiro e bramo,
> Fermi eran li occhi desiosi e 'ntensi,
> Quando Amor porse, quasi a dir: "Che pensi?"
> Quella onorata man che second' amo.[2]

What seemed to be a particularly happy conceit of Alexander's is thus yet another borrowing from Petrarch, albeit expertly altered and adapted to the Scottish poet's more formal mode of expression.

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 73, p. 498.

2. Petrarch, Rime, p. 331.

Alexander thus continues the heavy reliance on Italian poetry, begun by Fowler. Like the latter he does not confine his borrowings to Petrarch but may also have drawn from the works of Bembo, Tansillo, Sannazaro and Rota. The following list includes most of his probable debts.

AUR 4 and Petrarch Rime 49 'Perch'io t'abbia guardato di menzogna'
AUR 6 and Petrarch Rime 178 'Amor mi sprona in un tempo et affrena'
AUR 7 and Rota, P. 4r 'La fiamma; che per gli occhi apprese, e bebbe'
AUR 11 and Rota, P. 36r 'Perche del mondo ingiurioso, e vile'
AUR 24 and Tansillo S 49 'Dolente serpe, in cui mostra natura'
AUR 27 and Tansillo S 25 'Amor m'impenna l'ale'
AUR 36 and Petrarch Rime 208 'Rapido fiume, che d'alpestra vena'
AUR 42 and Petrarch Rime 45 'Il mio adversario, in cui veder solete'
(Cf. also Petrarch No. 46 'L'oro e le perle, e i fior vermigli e i bianchi' and Tasso 31 'Chiaro cristallo a la mia donna offersi.')
AUR 46 and Petrarch Rime 2 'Per fare una leggiadra sua vendetta'
AUR 53 and Petrarch Rime 180 'Po, ben puo' tu portartene la scorza'
AUR 58 and Petrarch Rime 145 'Pommi ove 'l sole occide i fiori e l'erba'
AUR 65 and Petrarch Rime 36 'S'io credesse per morte essere scarco'
AUR 66 and Petrarch Rime 150 'Che fai alma? che pensi? avrem mai pace?'
AUR 73 and Petrarch Rime 257 'In quel bel viso ch' i' sospiro e bramo'
(Cf. also No. 38, 'Orso e' non furon mai' and Sannazaro 40, 'Candida e bella man, che si sovente' and S 43 'O man leggiadra, o terso avorio bianco'.)
AUR 81 and Bembo, Rime 202 'Con la ragion nel suo bel vero in volta'
AUR 86 and Petrarch Rime 102 'Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto'
AUR 88 and Petrarch Rime 36 'S'io credesse per morte essere scarco'
AUR 93 (94) and Petrarch Rime 84 'Occhi piangete, accompagnate il core'
AUR 95 and Bembo p. 214 'La piu dura quercia ....'

In addition to these parallels, it may be noted that the conceit of comparing the lady to the dawn and of calling that period Aurora is frequently employed by Tansillo in his collection. Reference may

be made to Sonnets 143 and 144, which deal with this image at some length and may have provided Alexander with the impulse for his whole sequence. Although a more original poet than Fowler, he too feels it necessary to infuse Scottish poetry with ideas from the continent.

Alexander also borrows frequently from the main English sonneteers. Readers of Daniel for example will recognize in AUR 101, with its prophecy that old age will bring regret to the lady, a slightly altered version of Delia 33:

> When men shall finde thy flowre, thy glory passe,
> And thou with carefull brow sitting alone:
> Received hast this message from thy glasse,
> That tells thee trueth, and saies that all is gone.
> Fresh shalt thou see in mee the woundes thou madest,[1]

They will recall that Daniel in Delia 21 had also handled the theme of the lady prolonging her lover's misery by occasionally granting him a kindly look. When Alexander composed Aurora 92 he clearly had this original in mind and some lines are therefore very similar:

> And so with lookes prolongs my long-lookt ease:
> As short that blisse, so is the comfort rare. (Daniel)

> Thou loth to lose one that esteemes thee faire,
> With some sweete word or looke prolongst my life.
> (Alexander)[2]

Indeed throughout the Aurora one is constantly struck by echoes of the English writer in imagery, theme and conceit. The warning against self-love given to Aurora in AUR 26:

> But do not fall in loue with thine owne selfe;
> Narcissus earst was lost on such a shelfe

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1. Daniel, Poems, p. 27. Ronsard's 'Quand vous serez bien vieille' is probably behind both.

2. Ibid., p. 21. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 92, p. 512.

almost certainly originates from Delia 29:

> To viewe your forme too much, may daunger bee,
> Narcissus chaung'd t'a flowre in such a case.[1]

Similarly the second couplet in AUR 16:

> And imping stately fethers in her fame,
> May make it glide more glorious through the aire

calls to mind Delia 35:

> But I may ad one feather to thy fame,
> To helpe her flight throughout the fairest Ile.[2]

These are only the major borrowings from Daniel. A number of minor parallels are contained in the list at the end of this section.

Of the minor English sonneteers, Alexander turns most frequently to Fulke Greville. From him he gets the Peleus and Thetis conceit used in AUR 89:

> To love Anchises Venus thought no scorne,
> And Thetis earst was with a mortall match'd,
> Whom if th'aspiring Peleus had not catch'd,
> The great Achilles neuer had bene borne.

In Sonnet 42 Greville too recounts the tale of

> Peluis that loth was Thetis to forsake,[3]

using an argument so close to the Scottish poet's, that some form of borrowing seems certain. This probability becomes near certainty when the Aesculapius story, told by Greville in Caelica 70 reappears in AUR 80:

> When Loue spide death like to triumph ore me,
> That had bene such a pillar of his throne;

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 26, p. 467. Daniel, Poems, p. 25.

2. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 16, p. 459. Daniel, Poems, p. 28.

3. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 89, p. 511. The Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, ed. G. Bullough, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1939), I, p. 97.

> And that all Aesculapius hopes were gone,
> Whose drugs had not the force to set me free.[1]

It is noticeable that Alexander prefers to take themes and legends from Greville, rather than imitate his images or style. He thus reaps the benefit of the English sonneteer's knowledge, without following his somewhat laboured diction and metre. Indeed in all his borrowings, Alexander shows good critical taste. He seldom uses a poor sonnet as a model and seems capable of profiting from a poet's strengths without feeling bound to imitate his weaknesses as well.[2]

Of all the English poets, however, Spenser exerts the greatest influence on the Aurora. Like Stirling, Spenser establishes at the beginning that his sonnets are not inspired by lust but platonic affection:

> For in those lofty lookes is close implide,
> Scorn of base things, and sdeigne of foule dishonor.[3]

This distinction in both series introduces a philosophy of love based on virtue and admiration for the lady's personality, especially her mental attributes:

> But the trew fayre, that is the gentle wit,
> And vertuous mind, is much more prayse of me.[4]

Neither is concerned, like Sidney with minor social details, but

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 80, p. 502. Greville, op.cit., p. 117,

> Cupid did pine, Venus that lou'd her sonne,
> Or lackt her sport, did looke with heauy heart:
> The Gods are cal'd, a Councell is begunne,
> Delphos is sought, and Aesculapius art.

2. The parallel with Greville is especially convincing, as both also composed Senecan Tragedies.

3. Spenser, Poems, p. 563.

4. Ibid., Poems, p. 575.

only with the nature of the relationship between man and woman, forged by love. Thus under the guise of narrating a real affection Alexander and Spenser produce a poetic philosophy of love.

Spenser's conclusions too anticipate Alexander at many points. For him as for the Scot, paradoxicality is the passion's first attribute, so that many of the oppositions highlighted by Alexander had already been fully considered in the Amoretti. It was said that the first effect of Aurora's influence was to produce civil war within the poet. This, Spenser experiences as early as S 2, and as in the Aurora it is followed by the tongue's rebellion against the mind:

> So when my toung would speak her praises dew,
> It stopped is with thoughts astonishment.[1]

The other major paradoxes soon appear. Spenser's lady like Alexander's appears pleasant only to hide the reality of complete mercilessness:

> Right so my cruell fayre with me doth play,
> For with the goodly semblant of her hew
> She doth allure me to mine owne decay,
> And then no mercy will unto me shew.[2]

Her harmony is set against the complete chaos of his personality in S 26 and 51; the conflict between reason and passion underlies the whole sequence; the natural is set against the artificial in S 17 and 21. Even the platonic opposition of shadow and Idea is highlighted:

> All this worlds glory seemeth vayne to me,
> And all their showes but shadowes, sauing she.[3]

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1. Ibid., Poems, p. 563.
2. Ibid., Poems, p. 571.
3. Ibid., Poems, p. 568.

In short, Alexander's view of love as a continuation of the aboriginal strife between opposites, is based on Spenser's similar outlook in the Amoretti. All his paradoxes first appear in the English version, although he does multiply their references and alter some applications in order to create his more complex and more explicitly formulated philosophy.

Nevertheless, the Aurora and Amoretti are two philosophical sequences, seeing love as a paradox and praising its platonic aspects. Even the solutions advanced by Alexander are suspiciously similar to those suggested by the English writer. Just as he adapted the theory of opposition to justify adversity as a necessary prerequisite for success, so Spenser had written in S 51:

> Why then doe I, untrainde in louers trade,
> Her hardnes blame which I should more commend?
> Sith never ought was excellent assayde,
> Which was not hard t'atchiue and bring to end.[1]

Just as he had advocated the doctrine of aspiration being its own reward, so Spenser had earlier broached the same theme in S 5 of the Amoretti. Just as Alexander decided that true love created anew via the synthesis of union, so Spenser had put his faith in the same creed:

> When loosing one, two liberties ye gayne,
> And make him bond that bondage earst dyd fly.
> Sweet be the bands, the which true love doth tye ...[2]

Thus Englishman and Scot not only see love in the same light, they also choose the same threads of comfort to guide them out of the intricate maze of paradoxes they have created. Having solved the

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1. Ibid., Poems, p. 571.

2. Ibid., Poems, p. 573.

problems of human affection, Alexander suggests that he will now turn to heroic themes:

> Ile tune my accents to a trumpet now,
> And seeke the Laurell in another field.[1]

It is surely more than coincidence that Spenser had already made the same promise in S 80, when vowing to return to the composition of The Faerie Queene.[2] Nor after the various similarities so far traced, can it be chance that Alexander rounded off his sonnet sequence with a lengthy song in praise of "Hymen's torch". The model again is Spenser and in particular the 'Epithalamion', which follows immediately after the Amoretti.

Fowler may have been influenced by Sidney, but his debts are not nearly so heavy as Alexander's to Spenser. They share the same philosophy, the same solutions, the same platonism, the same conclusions and even the same transition to heroic poetry. Yet although many of the Scot's sonnets may have been suggested by Spenserean originals, none are mere translations. It was the general pattern for his sequence, the general attitude to love and life, which Alexander shared with Spenser, rather than particular poems or images.

Yet his borrowings from English poets are far more frequent than those of any of his predecessors. The list which follows

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 105, p. 520.

2. Spenser, Poems, p. 575. The sonnets are a respite from the 'Faerie Queene'. After he has finished:

> Then as a steed refreshed after toyle,
> Out of my prison I will breake anew:
> And stoutly will that second work assoyle,
> With strong endeuour and attention dew.

covers his main debts:

AUR 1 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 79
AUR 8 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 5
AUR 9 - compare Sidney, Astrophil, No. 39 and Spenser, Amoretti, No. 43
AUR 12 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 27
AUR 14 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 47 (hook image)
AUR 16 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 35
AUR 26 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 29
AUR 37 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 37
AUR 50 - compare Sidney, Astrophil, No. 46
AUR 62 - compare Sidney, Astrophil, No. 74
AUR 71 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 3
AUR 79 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 1
AUR 80 - compare Greville, Caelica, No. 70
AUR 84 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 28
AUR 89 - compare Greville, Caelica, No. 42
AUR 92 - compare Daniel, Delia, No. 21
AUR 99 - compare Spenser, Amoretti, No. 76

It is thus true to say that while Alexander continued the revolution from Scottish/French influences to Italian/English ones, he drew more on English poets and less on Italian than Fowler had done. James's renaissance of Scottish poetry continues to grow further away from its professed roots in the Scottish vernacular, and one of its leading exponents now writes in English and derives his inspiration from Spenser and Petrarch. It is Fowler's example rather than James's which is followed at the London court, as political troubles woo the king further and further from his literary interests. The 'Castalian band' although still existing in theory is now as good as dead, and Scottish poetry looks elsewhere than the Reulis and Cautelis for its lead.

STYLE

Kastner in his introduction to the Scottish Text Society edition of Alexander's works remarks that his poetry is "little but periphrases, phonetic jugglery and metre".[1] This assessment it is

1. Alexander, Works, II, xx.

hoped has already been shown to be false. This critic however goes on to suggest that the main characteristics of the poet's style are aureate diction, adaptations of the Latin 'versus correlatávi', verbal contractions, avoidance of the 'of' genitive, and wordplay. Unfortunately all his examples are taken from the Doomesday, with the conclusions analogically applied to the rest of Alexander's verse. Close study of the sonnets proves his assessment to be wide of the mark as far as aureation is concerned. With the occasional exception, like "diamantine mind" (AUR 15) and "intestine wars" (AUR 6), Alexander is less fanciful in his vocabulary than most of his contemporaries. The 'of' genitive is not studiously avoided as it had been in the Doomesday, while not a single definite example of 'versus correlatávi' can be traced throughout the Aurora. It is therefore wrong to condemn the Earl for having a rigid style, incapable of modification, when alterations of genre and theme occur.

On the other hand verbal contractions and wordplay remain favourite devices. Past participles are nearly always written in the apostrophe form, sometimes involving syllabic modification. The effect of this technique is to give Alexander's verse that smoother flow, for which James VI had pleaded. It does tend to be staccato elsewhere and these contractions are therefore welcome features. Usually elision occurs only before 'e' and 'i', but it may occur before other vowels to avoid cacaphonic effects or improve the metre. In AUR 42 for example an elision occure before 'u' to prevent an undesirable rhyming effect:

How she th'untainted beauties should array.[1]

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1. Ibid., AUR 42, p. 479.

This is intelligent use of the device, but all too often it is employed to force metrical regularity into hurriedly composed lines. The conclusion to AUR 89 provides an adequate example of this type of poetic laziness:

> But fame <u>in end</u> th'adventrer ever crownes,
> Whom either th'issue or th'attempt renownes.[1]

The phrase 'in end' is awkward, and three elisions are necessary to mould this piece of doubtful sense into regular metre. Although Alexander avoided Fowler's excessive repetition of phrase and image, he can match him in carelessness and in the reiteration of stylistic devices. Omitting the examples of past participle contraction as too numerous to mention, this particular technique appears in AUR 3/1, 7; 5/6; 8/13; 9/2, 4; 11/2; 13/3; 16/10; 18/2, 8; 23/3, 6; 25/9, 10; 28/10; 30/2, 8; 32/3; 34/9; 36/4; 37/6; 38/5, 8, 14; 40/8; 44/2; 50/11; 51/14; 53/7; 55/8, 12; 57/1, 9, 12; 65/9; 71/10; 73/3, 10; 75/10; 81/1, 5; 83/5; 86/1, 12; 89/3, 13, 14; 94/11, 12; 97/5; 105/14. Usually it is employed intelligently, and if it is occasionally used to cover up clumsy composition, it also helps to convert his "hard, harsh, trotting, tumbling veyne" into something approaching "smoothelie flowing fire".[2]

The three main Petrarchan devices of wordplay, antithesis and paradox also play a large part in the <u>Aurora</u>. Alexander therefore follows Fowler in imitating both the Italian's thematic and stylistic preferences. He uses wordplay far more frequently than his

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1. <u>Ibid</u>., AUR 89, p. 511. The underlining is my own.
2. James VI, <u>Poems</u>, II, 115.

compatriot however, ranging over a wide variety of types. Usually he employs mere word-echoing as in the final couplet of AUR 74:

> No wonder then though this in me doth moue,
> To such a diuine soule, a diuine loue,

but sometimes the refinement of internal rhyme may be added as in AUR 38:

> It by my sighes and cries may be refin'd.

Or verbal echoing may be allied to a difference in meaning, a technique adopted in MP 8:

> His Council's Counsel did Things past unfold.

The poet clearly takes a pride in this "phonetic jugglery", which Kastner dismisses so contemptuously. In AUR 66 for example he produces a chiasmatic formation:

> Ile never trust one that hath once betraid me:
> For once a traitor, and then never true,

varying it slightly ten sonnets later:

> What fortune strange, what strange misfortune erst
> Did tosse me ....[1]

The popularity of this Petrarchan device in Alexander's verse can fully be assessed by studying the frequency with which it recurs in the Aurora and Miscellaneous Poems. AUR 4/13; 6/7; 8/6; 17/1, 2; 18/1; 22/2; 26/1; 28/7; 31/1; 38/6; 47/3; 48/4, 12-14; 57/3; 61/12; 66/56; 74/14; 76/1; 81/11; 84/1, 2; 94/8; 99/3; 100/3, 4; 102/6; 103/12. MP 8/1, 2; MP 12/6.

As can be seen, wordplay is often used to open one of Alexander's sonnets. Antithesis however is the favourite device for concluding them. Indeed of the eighty occasions in which

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1. Alexander, Works, II, 499, 477, 541, 495, 500.

antithesis is used in his sonnets, thirty are situated in the final couplet. The following works in the Aurora end antithetically - 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 29, 30, 35, 39, 57, 60, 73, 76, 77, 80, 85, 86, 92, 100, 102. Similar endings are to be found in MP 7, 8, 9 and 12. Despite the frequency with which this formula is repeated, Alexander's sonnets never become so rigid in form as Fowler's, largely because the former seldom adopted the list approach, which so often served the other as a substitute for imagination. Yet they do share that interest in wordplay, antithesis and paradox, which one would expect in disciples of Petrarch. Strangely enough in view of his philosophy of love, Alexander used the last least often. But many of his antitheses are also paradoxical, while the arguments of most of his love sonnets are merely extended versions of that figure of speech.

Alexander then is a Petrarchan, but he is above all a complex Petrarchan, as the earlier discussions have underlined. The explanation for this complexity is partially philosophical. His was a complex philosophy, demanding that the poet should cope with difficult ideas in the short space of fourteen lines. There is also a stylistic explanation. Alexander, like Montgomerie, was fond of using compound words as in the "eye-ravished" of AUR 7 or the "brain-sicke" of AUR 1. These, rather than aureation produce the verbal complexity of which Kastner complains. To this he adds unnecessary suspensions and inversions, tortuous constructions and an over-complex sentence structure. This last objection is the prerequisite of all else, for Alexander unaccountably feels that he has to produce single-sentence sonnets with some regularity. At its worst this can produce almost incomprehensible works like the

Loire Sonnet, but it would be fairer to quote a more representative example. The opening sonnet of Aurora can be used to show the inherent weaknesses of equating sentence with sonnet:

> Whil'st charming fancies move me to reveale
> The idle ravings of my brain-sicke youth,
> My heart doth pant within, to hear my mouth
> Unfold the follies which it would conceale:
> Yet bitter Critickes may mistake my mind;
> Not beautie, no, but vertue raisd my fires,
> Whos sacred flame did cherish chast desires,
> And through my cloudie fortune clearely shin'd
> But had not others otherwise advisd,
> My cabinet should yet these scroles containe,
> This childish birth of a conceitie braine,
> Which I had still as trifling toyes despisd:
> Pardon those errours of mine unripe age;
> My tander Muse by time may grow more sage.[1]

The argument as it stands hangs loosely together. There are too many conjuctions replacing periods, while the mind becomes lost in a welter of subordinate clauses. To all this there is added compounding in l. 2, the wordplay of l. 9 and inversion in the final couplet. Yet this is one of the simpler examples of its kind. Kastner had summed up the stylistic complexity of the longer poems by suggesting that Alexander had "little to say and so much space for the saying of it".[2] One wonders whether such a comment can be wholly just, when shorter genres, crammed full of ideas, exhibit just the same tortuous style. It seems more likely that the Earl had some difficulty in mastering the English dialect spoken at the London court, as well as being attracted to the complex phraseology of the Metaphysicals. Certainly his philosophical, paradoxical, antithetical, word-juggling, single-sentence

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1. Ibid., p. 443.

2. Ibid., p. xx.

sonnets are at times difficult to understand. Nor is the means of expression always an aid towards the conveying of meaning. Style obstructs idea almost as often as it embellishes it.

SIR DAVID MURRAY

BIOGRAPHY

Sir David Murray like William Fowler and the Earl of Stirling was a man of great influence at James's London court. The son of Robert Murray of Abercairny he was connected with a family, which had held positions of importance under William the Lion, Alexander II and Alexander III. A member of the younger branch of the Murrays of Bothwell, he could claim direct descent from Sir Andrew of Moravia, one of William Wallace's generals in the fight for independence. It was Sir Andrew's younger brother William who first succeeded to the Abercairny estates and thus originated the line to which the poet belonged. His grandfather William Murray became laird in November 1513 and married his cousin Lady Nicholas Graham. They had three sons and six daughters. The eldest son William became laird in 1548 but died with no issue. The estates therefore evolved on his brother Robert, the poet's father. He married Catherine, daughter of Murray of Tullibardine and the poet was the second son in a family of eight.[1]

He was born in 1567 and appears to have gone at an early age into the king's service, for in 1583 he became James's cupbearer, after the resignation of James Elphinstone.[2] No notable promotions occur until 1599, when he became one of the foremost attendants in the newly formed household of the Prince of Wales. Thomas Birch in his Life of Prince Henry tells of the various changes made when

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1. Douglas's Baronage of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1798), II, 540.
2. Calendar of Scottish Papers, (1581-83), VI, 560.

Henry reached the age of six and points out that once his tutor had been appointed in the person of Adam Newton, Dean of Durham, the young prince was taken away from his nurses and given attendants of great rank, "the principal of whom was the Earl of Mar; together with the first and only gentleman of his Highness's Bed-chamber, Sir David Murray, Knt, assisted by several Lords, Knights and Gentlemen",[1] Just as Fowler was at the head of Anne's household, so Murray became the closest confidant of the Prince of Wales. Whatever his failings, James believed in promoting his Scottish poets to high ranks at court.

Till Henry's death in 1612, the story of David Murray's life is one of growing friendship with the Prince and influence with his father. As gentleman of the Prince's bedchamber he got 600 marks a year, paid in two instalments at Martinmas and Whitsun. The Privy Council records also show the occasional gift, with which influential courtiers expressed their appreciation of his services to the crown. He was therefore well provided for and held in high esteem. In 1608 he became keeper of the Prince's privy purse and his salary, which by now had risen to £1,000 was increased by another £400. He was also responsible for all Henry's apparel and as the prince was very dress-conscious, this proved to be quite an onerous task. In 1608 for example it was estimated that his wardrobe cost no less than £3,000.[2]

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1. Thomas Birch, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales (London, 1760), p. 15.

2. See Register of Privy Council (1599-1604), VI, 409. Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) (1603-10), pp. 446, 465, 562, 580, 587, 598, 611.

Indeed Henry seems at times to have been rather an awkward master. His needs were never of the simplest and Murray was constantly having to apply for further grants to accommodate his extravagant interests. In the accounts of 1st October 1610 - 6th November 1612, there appears the interesting item:

> Money lost in play at Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, and other sportes £2,671 4s.[1]

It would appear therefore that Murray saw it as his task to cater for rather than curb the prince's youthful whims. This being the case it is scarcely surprising that a friendship grew up between them. This was strengthened by a shared religion. Murray was a devout Protestant and this belief Henry shared so keenly that James became worried. When a marriage was proposed for Henry with a Catholic princess, Murray was the prince's strongest ally in opposing it. When Sir William Ross sent a letter to Henry in 1612 giving an account of his visit to Tuscany, he enclosed a note to Murray warning him of the implications of his stand:

> You are so great a Puritan, that you are not only an endeavourer against this match, but also against all other matches, which are popish. Therefore, if this match do take effect, you must look to yourself; for there will be practices against you.[2]

The situation however did not arise, for in that same year, a greater tragedy occurred. Henry died at the age of eighteen.

For some time it had been obvious that his health was failing.

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1. 'The Accompte of the Money Expended by Sir David Murray Kt as Keaper of the Privie Purse to the Noble Prynce Henry, from the first of Oct. 1610 to the sixth of November 1612', cited by E. C. Wilson in Prince Henry and English Literature (Cornell University, 1946), p. 55.

2. Cited by Birch, op.cit., p. 321.

A courtier reports that, "Where before he was of somewhat a full round Face .... his visage began to appear somewhat paler".[1] He became solitary in his habits, his nose bled frequently and he was subject to shivering fits. Despite this he was determined to take an active part in the marriage negotiations centring around his sister, especially as there was only one Protestant suitor, Frederick Count Palatine. To him the prince gave every possible aid at the cost of his own strength. On October 24th, after an exhausting game of tennis against Count Maurice, he retired to bed. From then on his condition steadily worsened. Bleeding and the application of pigeons to draw away the humours was tried without effect. The crisis was reached on November 5th and it was to David Murray that he appealed at the height of his fever:

> This day, and at sundry other Times since his Confusion of Speech, he would many Times call upon Sir David Murray Knight, (the only man in whom he had put choise Trust) by his Name, David, David, David; who, when he came unto his Highness, demanding his Pleasure, in Extremity of Pain, and Stupefaction of Senses confounding his Speech, sighing, he did reply, I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it.[2]

On the following day he died, but not before Murray had discovered that he wanted certain letters, kept in a secret cabinet, destroyed. Henry's first biographer, Sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer of the king's household, and himself an eye-witness, frequently stresses the closeness between the prince and the poet, "who in this one

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1. Sir Charles Cornwallis, An Account of the Baptism, Life, Death and Funeral of the most Incomparable Prince Frederick Henry, Prince of Wales (London, 1751), p. 26.

2. Ibid., p. 41.

Death suffered many".[1] Certainly Murray was one of the central figures at his death, as Fowler had been at his birth. The Prince of Wales was ushered into life and escorted out of it by a Scottish sonneteer.

Just as Alexander and Fowler reached a peak in their career before passing into disrepute, so Murray now stood at the height of favour. He was not to suffer bankruptcy and disgrace like Stirling, but he was passed over by James and Charles in turn. This was partly his own fault, for after the death of Henry he retreated to his newly gained estate of Gorthy in Perthshire, to recover. When he returned it was to find that his close associations with Henry, made him a painful companion for the king, who now chose to ignore his existence. As a result, as late as 1617 Thomas Murray was writing to Sir Thomas Lake, under secretary of state, recommending, "Sir David Murray, the most trusty servant of the late Prince, and almost the only one neglected".[2] This letter was dated 1st April, and exactly eleven days later a free gift of £3,000 was granted to him by James. It is however interesting to note that the first £1,000 was not paid until 3rd March 1623.

In fact, from Henry's death in 1612 till his own seventeen years later, Murray's name disappears almost entirely from the court records. Instead he seems to have concentrated on business ventures. It is known for example that he encouraged the wine trade; he got ten shillings for every "awne of Deale or Rhenish wine" imported into the country. He also became involved in the new copper works

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1. Ibid.

2. Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) (1611-1618), p. 456.

set up in London by the Earl of Salisbury. When they were first established in 1611, Murray showed no interest, as he had a steady income accruing from his position at court. After he had been passed over so frequently by James, he began to consider certain business propositions. The copper scheme was one of them. It had got off to a bad start, when the two managers, Thomas Russell and John Milward had a disagreement. This was followed by a protest by the Lord Mayor, that the works had been constructed on ground belonging to the City of London. As a result a number of the early backers withdrew and Murray was one of those who stepped in to fill their places. In 1617 Murray writes to Lake, pointing out that Russell and he have been given the sole rights for making brimstone and Danish copperas. He has been cozened the first time by Russell, but now the parties have reached agreement and he asks for the monopoly to be granted again,[1] The exact outcome of this venture is unknown, but it is unlikely to have been very profitable for Murray, as in 1621 Russell was granted another monopoly, this time with sole rights to extract silver from all copper ore mined in England, Ireland and Wales. It does seem that the disillusioned courtier found the men of business too astute for him.[2]

In 1629 Murray died without heir. His lands passed into the Bishopric of Orkney and his will proves him to have been well off if not rich at his death. He had been known and admired in the literary circles of London, although never held in the high esteem reserved for Alexander. He was especially friendly with Esther

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1. Ibid., p. 468.

2. Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), (1619-23), p. 269.

Inglis, the most famous calliographer of the sixteenth century, whom he probably met when she was nurse to Prince Henry. To him she dedicated many of her manuscripts, including the Treatise of Preparation to the Holy Supper and the Quatrains de Pybrac. He did not however penetrate to the centre of the circles round Jonson and Drayton, although both were acquainted with his work.[1]

There is no saying to what heights Murray might have risen, had Henry survived to become king. The Scottish poet's whole life was bound up in that of the Prince of Wales, and in a sense he died with him. He suffered a decline in fortune, an alienation from the king similar to Montgomerie's, but unlike his predecessor, he seems to have viewed the affair with nonchalence. He writes no pension sonnets and allows other men to voice a protest for him. If James found his person objectionable, because of its close connections with tragedy, Murray probably viewed the court itself in the same light. Certainly, after Henry's death, his retreats to his Scottish estates in Perthshire became more frequent, while he appears to have almost welcomed the comparative anonymity of a business life. Of all the Scottish sonneteers none conquered misfortune in so mature a fashion as Murray.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE

It has been suggested that the narrative structure of the Tarantula might be compared with Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, while Aurora and the Amoretti have strong philosophical links. Murray's sonnet sequence however takes us backwards in two ways;

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1. Registrum Secreti Sigilli (1620-33), VIII, nos. 1396, 1415, 1417, 1429.

back to Wyatt for an English parallel and back to the early Castalian period for its inclusion of occasional verse. His Caelia contains twenty six sonnets, but of these only nineteen are dedicated to that lady,[1] while the other seven include epitaphs, addresses to other ladies and a glance into the history of one of Justinian's lieutenants. In fact the only truly unifying factor in the sequence is its title. In accordance with the custom of the period, Murray sent his sonnets out into the world bearing a lady's name, but as a group they have much more in common with the heterogeneous collections of Wyatt and James than the unified love series of Fowler or Alexander. Murray, one of the last Scottish sonneteers, wrote a sequence based on the earliest native models.

CAELIA

The first sonnet in the series is especially important, for it tells us four things about the group in general. These sonnets, like Stewart's are the product of a youthful mind. Like Alexander the poet considers heroic matters more worthy of a poet's pen, and so considers sonneteering a somewhat dilettanti pastime. Murray however also betrays two facts about the composition of Caelia. He admits that there is no real unity of inspiration, as his youthful muse was attracted by diverse themes:

> Now prays'd she Caelia's beauty, then admires
> Th'enchanting Musicke of anothers quill:

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1. There seems no good reason to identify 'Caelia' with any actual person, although she is a 'northern' and therefore probably a Scottish goddess. The sonnets show signs of being composed at different periods and one might logically presume that their inspiration is also varied.

> And now againe she would bewaile with teares,
> Th'untimely fals of some whom death did kill.[1]

This is an accurate assessment of the various topics covered in Caelia, referring as it does to the epitaphs and dedicatory sonnets as well as amatory material. In the last five lines he goes on to mention his later tragedy, Sophonisba, as having been completed. It thus becomes clear, that after its success at the English court, Murray hurriedly gathered together all his early verse and disguised the heterogeneity of its origins under the single title, Caelia.

On the other hand, some of the love sonnets do seem connected by a rather thin narrative thread. The origin of the poet's love for Caelia is poetically described in S 2 and 3. In the first of these poems Murray uses the 'gift' conceit employed by James, Alexander and Fowler, but with a subtle alteration of emphasis. The gods duly grant exceptional qualities to the lady, but this ceremony is preceded by a detailed account of the birth itself:

> Kind Nature once did labour so in birth,
> That all the gods to helpe her were conuein'd,
> ALL's Mother then such bitter throws sustaind,
> Or she this child of wonder could bring forth:[2]

By adopting this rather daring poetic theme, Murray not only hints at metaphysical tendencies, but also unites Fowler's Nature-goddess, with Alexander's gift from the gods. Caelia at the outset transcends both Bellisa and Aurora because she synthesises their dominant qualities. Like them she descends from the heavens to cast men

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1. Caelia, 1 (In The Poems of Sir David Murray, ed. Thomas Kinnear, Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1823), pages unnumbered.)

2. Caelia 2.

into misery (S 3), but once again Murray uses a common poetic convention, only to rise above it. By a change of emphasis he brings the 'gift' conceit to life. By particularisation he makes the movement from heaven to earth more convincing. For Caelia does not descend on to the earth generally, but to the North (and probably Scotland) in particular:

> Loue on his wings conuoy'd her here below,
> Where she not willing any should her know,
> Sought out the North to be her resting bounds.[1]

Murray, like Baldynneis, possesses the ability to transform conventional ideas into something peculiarly his own, by a sudden flash of ingenuity.

Like Alexander he moves from the contemplation of love in general and the birth of his own passion, to the effects of this love. His conclusions as indicated in the next four sonnets, also resemble Alexander's closely. First he embodies his situation in the conventional battle metaphor, seeing himself as a hopeless slave bound in chains of love. Once again however he introduces a novelty in the form of legal allegory, using her own pity and remorse as petitioners against her cruelty and beauty. Then he seizes on Alexander's favourite conceit of the treacherous tongue, which refuses to plead the poet's case. As usual Murray tries to make this conceit his own, by surpassing his fellow countryman, and so his tongue is not merely silent. Caelia's beauty is strong enough to make it lie:

> Beat backe with sighes, yet it return'd againe,
> But spake of pleasure when it should of paine.[2]

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1. Caelia 3.

2. Caelia 5.

The technique is still the same. He uses a well worn conceit, but makes the tongue for once defeat the sighs, and then do so only to achieve a higher treachery. The poet's misery is further delineated in S 6, where another of Alexander's methods, 'the enumerating of symptoms' is employed. The lover's grief is divided into groans, sighs and tears, with each being considered in turn. Murray's innovations here are partially stylistic, partially thematic. He begins by setting out the analytic division in a form reminiscent of the rhetorical device of 'Underwriting':

> Still must I grone, still must I sigh, still mourne,
> And cannot grones, nor sighes, nor teares haue place.[1]

The argument is then developed in terms of Caelia's cruelty for six lines, before the 'Still must' refrain appears again, this time allied to initial repetition:

> Still must I breathe those grieuous grones in vaine?:
> Still must my sighs euanish in the ayre,
> Still must those teares be spent in waste I straine,
> Still must my passions all increase my care.[2]

The innovation in this case is the addition of a fourth element, the passions, while verbal repetition is used to underline the continuity of his misery. The conclusion reiterates the situation once again, but even here Murray introduces a stylistic twist. The order in which his symptoms are mentioned is altered:

> Since sighes, teares, grones, and passions bred disdaine.[3]

Thus he again adapts a conventional idea so successfully as to make it peculiarly his own.

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1. Caelia 6.
2. Caelia 6.
3. Caelia 6.

The close similarity to Alexander's Aurora, which will be more fully discussed under 'Influences', suggests a double interpretation of S 7. In asking Aurora to cease weeping for Memnon and lend her dew-tears to the poet, Murray may be lightheartedly trying to woo away Alexander's heroine. Certainly the mention of Aurora culminates six sonnets, all of which have direct parallels in the earlier sequence. After borrowing another poet's conceits and trying to improve them, a poetic take-over bid of this nature would not be out of place.

The following three sonnets deal with the lady, thus imitating the love-poet-lady progression of the introduction to Aurora. They are not the best in Murray's collection, but do represent three different techniques. S 8 introduces the metaphysical note into his poetry again, with a highly complex argument on whether the lady is unkind or not. As Murray follows in turn the arguments of reason and emotion, and produces in his reader the impression of a love, which is at once cerebral and deeply passionate, one thinks of Donne, whose love poetry was being composed about this time. S 9 on the other hand is an aureate description of the lady, making use of the medieval comparisons with pearl, rose and lily, as well as Spenserean compounding. Murray was writing at a time when the Spenserean enthusiasm was being replaced by the Metaphysical and these two sonnets clearly indicate that he was not sure which side to align himself with. S 10 depends neither on an argument nor a list, but upon the conceit of a river falling in love with the lady. Once again there is a parallel in Aurora, this time with AUR 36, but the principle of innovation alongside imitation is continued. In Alexander's version the Loire only slowed down.

In S 10 Murray's "christal brooke" goes one step better:

> The waters slyding by her seem'd to mourne,
> Desirous stil for to behold her beauty,
> Neglecting to the Ocean their duty,
> In thousand strange Meanders made returne.[1]

These sonnets complete three different ways of viewing love by focussing on the lady; they bear continued witness to Murray's ingenuity and show him to be hovering between Spenserean and Metaphysical allegiances. Up till this point too the sequence seems to be firmly unified round the person of Cealia, although no strong narrative or philosophical bias has been detected.

S 11 and 12 go together and may be regarded in one of two ways. If they are part of a unified sequence to Caelia, based on Alexander's Aurora, they can be seen as dealing with the problem of aspiration. In each, the poet, like Icarus, flies up to the heights of his lady goddess, only to be plunged into flames or disgrace. Murray would then be starting from Alexander's ideas as usual, but questioning rather than accepting aspiration as a valuable aim, irrespective of results. This is quite possible, but the haphazard arrangement of the Caelia sequence makes it more likely that these poems were not originally inspired by Caelia at all, but later inserted between the introductory sonnets and the absence group which follows. Caelia is not mentioned in either, while they do represent a break with the themes of the first ten sonnets. Indeed, taken together they constitute a setpiece rather than part of a continued narrative. Murray is less concerned with Caelia, than interpreting the Icarian legend in two subtly different fashions. It is again

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1. Caelia 10. The underlining is my own.

an exercise in ingenuity rather than praise.

In S 11 the lady and the sun are equated, but despite the similarity of cause, the poet suffers greater misery than Icarus:

> Only this difference rests betwixt us two,
> I ceaslesse burne, his flames were quencht in Po.[1]

S 12 presents the opposite case. The lady is now a more dangerous enemy than the sun, possessing "brighter rays", but the effects are identical:

> And as our flights so wer our fals (alasse)
> He in the sea, I into black disgrace.[2]

Anyone who considers these poems repetitive is missing the whole point. Here as elsewhere Murray uses similar imagery to produce different conclusions. In S 11 similarity of cause produces disparity of effect; in S 12 disparity of cause produces similarity of effect, while the Icarian legend provides a unifying link. The reason for this will become clear later, but the main message of these sonnets is not amatory in nature. They form an artificial bridge between the two halves of the Caelia sequence.

The next six sonnets deal with the poet's absence from Caelia, once more borrowing extensively from Alexander. Like the author of Aurora, Murray sends his heart to wait on the lady (S 13), promises to dream of her (S 14) and uses the story of Apelles' 'Idea' to explain his imaginative recreation of her beauties (S 15). Having thus guaranteed that his feelings and thoughts, both awake and asleep, are eternally hers he progresses to a proclamation of fidelity in S 16. His comparison with the mutability of nature is

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1. Caelia 11.

2. Caelia 12.

more reminiscent of Fowler than Alexander. In this minor climax in the sequence he actually comes close to an observation of nature in and for itself, a capacity shared by Fowler alone:

> The swelling streames o're bankes and brayes that flow,
> By miracle may stay their swiftest race;
> But restlesse streames of liqui'd teares (alasse)
> Shall neuer stay from my poore eies to rin,
> The congeald ice longe frozen may grow thin,
> By the reflex of bright Appolloes face;
> But ah! my hopes shall freeze still in dispaire,
> Til I enjoy againe faire Caelias sight.[1]

He fails fully to capture Fowler's enthusiasm for nature, his detailed descriptions of its minor aspects, but at the same time he is far from reproducing the cold allegorical representations then favoured. It is fitting that one of his finer laments to Caelia, daughter of Nature, should spring from an understanding of natural life.

The last two poems in this group and indeed the last two which are indisputably about Caelia present an Elizabethan/Metaphysical contrast similar to that noted in S 8 and 9. S 18, the last of the real Caelia sequence is a recasting of the dream/reality contrast favoured by Petrarch and many Elizabethan writers including Spenser and Drayton. The lady dreams the poet is dead and sheds tears of grief. This inevitably raises the problem of her cruelty when observing his actual death of grief:

> A dreame that for my death such teares you spent,
> Worse then a thousand deaths for you I drie,
> Yet for my griefe you neuer teare once lent.[2]

For once Murray makes no attempt to introduce a novel bias and it

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1. Caelia 16.

2. Caelia 18.

is perhaps a pity that the major part of his sequence should end on this uncharacteristic, conventional note. S 17 is at once better and more typical of his technique and would have made a more satisfying conclusion. It too is based on a fairly common sonneteering conceit, that of the eyes which go into mourning because they cannot see their lady. But Murray transforms the usual logic of this argument by turning the eyes into cabins from which a host of looks sally forth with the zeal of a marauding army. The full drama of the situation is thus more successfully realised, and the poet's blindness viewed as a selfwilled closing of the cabins of sight rather than the helpless plight of one cast willy nilly into darkness:

> Gazing from out the windowes of mine eyes,
> To view the obiect of my hearts desire,
> My famish'd lookes in wandring troupes forth flies:
> Hoping by some good fortune to espie her,
> But having flowne with staring wings long space,
> And missing still the aime that caus'd them soare,
> Scorning to feed on any ɵther face,
> Turnes to their cabins backe and flies no more,
> And there enclos'd disdaines to view the light,
> Shadowing my face with sable cloudes of griefe:[1]

The eyes/cabin comparison is successfully expanded, while Murray expertly juxtaposes three conceptions of the lady - as an object to be viewed, a high goal to be reached on wings and a morsel for the appetites to satisfy themselves on. This juggling feat is achieved by phrases like "staring wings" and "famish'd lookes" which unite two opposed approaches, thus approximating to a Metaphysical fusion of dissimilarities.

Only three amatory sonnets remain in the series and the first of these is not addressed to Caelia. It constitutes the poet's

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1. Caelia 17.

reply to a 'Gentlewoman', who has accused him of stealing her book. The sonnet depends for its effect on the rhyming pun, that he steals 'looks' rather than books, but apart from this, it is a clumsy work. There is no apparent reason for including it in the Caelia sequence and its effect is to dislocate whatever unity the series possessed. It is followed by a poem directly addressed to Caelia and based on an account-book conceit. An alter-ego counsels the poet to think on all his miseries separately:

> And when all those thou hast enrold aright,
> Into the count-booke of thy daily care,
> Extract them truly, then present the sight,
> With them of flinty Caelia the faire.[1]

Despite the tortuous syntax of the last couplet quoted, Murray succeeds in building a sonnet of some merit round this central idea. In so doing he is the first British sonneteer since Sidney and Daniel to introduce apt business metaphors into his poetry. Along with S 21 however it comes after the 'Gentlewoman' sonnet and so may not have originally been part of the sequence to Caelia. It seems more than likely that these two sonnets were added in at the end and the name Caelia introduced to give a false impression of unity. No certain decision however can be reached and S 21 would be as good a concluding sonnet as S 18. In it the poet appeals in vain to the various elements of nature to plead his case with the beloved. The landscape he draws is of the allegorical type and should be compared with the less artificial description in S 16, but Murray may have intended it to represent a symbolic plea to Caelia's mother (Nature) for her favour. The refusal would then

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1. Caelia 20.

represent a final veto and the sequence be logically completed.

It seems almost certain that Murray's Caelia is an artificial sequence, concocted from early sonnets with no common theme. By placing them in the most advantageous order, by introducing the central heroine Caelia and perhaps by composing later works other than S 1, he moulded this varied collection into something approaching a unity. As the original variety of origin has been sufficiently stressed, it may be helpful to consider the sequence as presented to us. S 1 is introductory and followed by the nine poems viewing the Caelia relationship in turn from a mythical angle, from the poet's point of view and from the lady's. The Icarus setpiece comes next and stands somewhat apart from the main body of the sequence, which continues with six sonnets dealing with absence. S 19, the 'Gentlewoman's accusation', forms another setpiece, whereupon the poet ends his pleas to Caelia by presenting her with the account book of his cares and by asking for her mother's (Nature's) intervention. Neither is successful, so he concludes on the pessimistic note, that

I plagu'd alone, alone must beare my paine.[1]

Considering the intractability of his material, Murray has produced a pleasing series of poems. Various unsuitable poems are grafted into the main sequence as setpieces, while he substitutes groups of sonnets on a related theme for continuous narrative. This allows him to place epitaphs and other occasional verse at the end with no apparent impropriety. Indeed they form another major group separated from the rest by the setpiece on Bellisarius.

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1. Caelia 21.

Murray thus presents us with a different type of progression from that favoured by either Fowler or Alexander. He prefers an alternation between groups and setpieces to continuous story or idealogical development. Caelia can be viewed as follows:

1st Setpiece	-	Origin of Sequence	(S 1)
1st Group	-	Introduction to Love	(S 2-10)
2nd Setpiece	-	Icarus Theme	(S 11-12)
2nd Group	-	Absence from Love	(S 13-18)
3rd Setpiece	-	'The Gentlewoman'	(S 19)
3rd Group	-	Final pleas of Love	(S 20-21)
4th Setpiece	-	'Bellisarius'	(S 22)

The fact that the sonnets in Caelia were composed at different times has one other far reaching effect. It makes Murray, in all aspects of his verse, an intermediary figure. At one moment his vocabulary and images look backwards to Spenser, at the next they have the simplicity and the daring of Donne. In composing a sequence which includes occasional verse, he recalls Wyatt and the early Castalians, yet the strongest single influence on his work is Alexander. It is because of this reliance on Stirling, because he forged his vast variety of topics into a sequence at all, and because Petrarchan idealisation and imagery are everywhere present that Murray is most fittingly considered in Chapter 6. But although he is aware of the Petrarchan saint/devil duality, the necessity for a lover's constant humility, the lady's mixture of cruel beauty and the value of highflown antitheses and paradoxes, he carries with him that interest in occasional poetry fostered by James and anticipates the metaphysical movement in Scottish sonneteering.

OTHER THEMES

In view of his sparse contribution to sonneteering, it would

be surprising if David Murray had touched on all the main themes favoured by European practitioners. He makes little or no mention of either astrology or cosmology although he does betray an awareness of the hierarchical correspondences in the two sonnets to Henry, Prince of Wales, where the king of men is compared to the eagle and the sun, kings respectively of birds and planets. Apart from this he makes sparing use of mythological legends, his favourites being Icarus's flight and Aurora's love for Memnon. The pagan gods are however used for allegorical purposes in S 2 and 21, each god being paired off with his dominant virtue. The conflict between passion and reason in the soul appears explicitly only in S 8:

> My passions thus such opperations breed,
> In my deuided soule that I can not,
> Conceit you are that which you are indeed.[1]

but remains implied in many of the poet's internal conflicts. Ficinian influence on the other hand is slight, the only exception being the lost heart conceit used in S 13.

His attitude to Fortune is the most complex of all. In order fully to understand it, a short discussion of his imagery is necessary. It is noticeable for example that he tends to employ the same images over and over again. The images of the Phoenix, Icarus, wings and sun recur so often within the space of less than thirty sonnets, that they become symbolic in function. On each occasion they have the same values - the phoenix represents perfection, Icarus the aspiring man, while wings are the means towards aspiration and the sun its object. But as has been seen in the

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1. Caelia 8.

two Icarus sonnets so far studied, there is one important reservation. Although the symbols and the argument are similar, the conclusions are different, thus leading us to the conclusion that some variable factor must exist at the base of Murray's poetry. Further examples of this unusual method of handling imagery are however necessary before attempting to define the nature of this unidentified element.

In S 11 and 12 the Icarian legend had been applied to the poet's situation as a lover. In the first poem the lady and the sun were equally forceful, but the poet's fate was worse than Icarus's. In the second, Caelia exerted more power than Phoebus, but their effect was the same. The legend is also adapted to purposes of poetry in the second sonnet to Henry and yet another conclusion results. The fall is neither undeserved nor a great punishment. It becomes instead justifiable through the heights of aspiration:

> The higher flight, the more renowned fall,
> It shall suffice that her attempt was such.[1]

This admiration for aspiration irrespective of its effects is the standpoint adopted by Alexander and contradicts both of Murray's love sonnets on the subject. When the myth appears again in the first of the sonnets on John Murray, the flight is once more motivated by poetic ambition, but mockery not admiration greets failure:

> Icarian-like beyond my skill I soare,
> While comming where thy songs are heard before,
> My lines are mockt, that thine to match presumes.[2]

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1. 'To the high and mighty Prince, Henry Prince of Wales', Sonnet 2. One of the introductory sonnets to The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba.

2. 'Sonet to the right worthy Gentleman, and his louing cousin, M. Iohn Murray'. Contained in Caelia.

Thus Icarian imagery has been used four times, twice for romantic, twice for poetic purposes. The legend has remained unaltered throughout, but the conclusions have opted for a fate worse than Icarus's, one the same as his, one better than his and one replacing tragedy with mockery. The poet has been rewarded in turn by the flames of love, the black waters of despair, by admiration and by disdain. It does begin to appear that Murray repeats conventional symbols and arguments to prove that under different situations the outcome besetting identical men may be vastly different.

Wing imagery is similarly employed, for the wings of aspiration may either cast men into their shadow or raise them aloft in triumph. Henry for example puts other men to shame:

> Under the shadow of your Eagles wings,[1]

while the opening to the first John Murray sonnet describes the opposite situation:

> Eagle-like upon the lofty wings,
> Of thy aspiring Muse thou flies on hie.[2]

The phoenix too can be used either to symbolise recreation or barren uniqueness. In the prefatory sonnet to Psalm CIV, the conventional application is adopted. David is the phoenix out of whose ashes James VI has arisen. But in the epitaph to Cecily Wemyss no such continuation of the species is suggested, so great is her perfection:

> Phoenix of thy kind:
> From out whose ashes hence I prophecie,
> Shall never such another Phoenix flie.[3]

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1. 'Prince Henry' sonnet, No. 1.

2. 'John Murray' sonnet, No. 1.

3. 'Sonet on the death of the Lady Cicily Weemes, Lady of Tillebarne'.

The immediate reaction to Murray's imagery is that he is too repetitive. He is also inconsistent, using the same logic to depict Icarus justified and unjustified, the phoenix dying barren and dying to create, wings raising men to the light and shadowing them in darkness. He is criticised for allowing the interest in Icarus to become almost an obsession in his sonneteering output. Aspiration and concomitant failure could easily have been embodied in other myths or he could have altered the bias of the legend to focus on the Po as an image of comfort, as his model Alexander did in AUR 53. It is however just possible that Murray used the device of similar symbols and differing outcome to pinpoint the one variable factor, which can divert similar paths in opposite directions - Fate.

Certainly if this is the case, some disturbing features about Caelia can be accounted for. Why, for example, does the Bellisarius sonnet get the honour of finishing the numbered part of the series? Why does the complete cycle end with a mediocre sonnet about a mediocre poet, Adam Murray? The answer would now be that both embody very clearly that nagging doubt about fate's fairness, which recurs in a more disguised form throughout the cycle:

> Behold heere Bellizarius, I pray,
> Whom never-constant fortune, changing aye,
> Even at the top of greatnesse quite forsooke.[1]

It is this metaphysical problem which is basic to most of the occasional poems. Adam Murray does not gain the right to end the cycle on his own merits, but because his "abortive death" fully

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1. 'On the misfortune of Bellizarius, great Lieutenant to the Emperor Iustinian' Caelia 22.

illustrates the author's conviction that fate is both impersonal and unjust. He may have immortalised himself through poetry, but this does not solve the enigma of his "untimely fal" any more than the consolation of writing an epitaph reconciles Murray to the death of the peerless phoenix Cecily Wemyss. The lengthy epitaph on Murray's cousin David includes a panegyric on his best qualities - "loving, courteous, liberall by measure" - and goes on to ask why such a man should be killed. The poor shepherd Harpalus dies for crimes of faithfulness and love rather in the manner of Tess of the d'Urbervilles.

The occasional poems then voice explicitly the fear of a malicious fortune, which had been present as a secondary theme in the love poems. More than the Tarantula with its fate figure the Nature-goddess Bellisa, or the Aurora with its heroine sent by the gods to determine men's fortune, Caelia is a sequence dealing with the unfairnesses in man's lot. The poet loves purely and is rewarded by cruelty and disdain; Bellisarius serves loyally and becomes a beggar; a man may aspire like Icarus but the extent of his misery depends upon a fate, which with apparent irrelevance may grant him joy or despair, award his poetry praise or mockery. In love poetry, occasional verse and epitaphs, through overt statement and cunning use of symbolism, Murray drives home his central theme. It is fate, rather than the name of Caelia which unifies the sequence. No-one need be surprised that Prince Henry's closest friend should consider this a theme worthy of exploration.

INFLUENCES

As was suggested in the discussion on 'Attitude to Love',

Murray's favourite source is another Scottish sonneteer, in the person of Alexander. The message of S 7:

> Pale, sad Aurora leaue thy showres to raine,
> .....
> Lend me thy mouing teares, sweet weeping morne,[1]

is not only a poetic appeal to the dawn, but an admission that much of Murray's material has been drawn from Alexander's sequence. Even in his attitude to sonneteering Murray follows the Earl, for both dismiss it as a lighthearted pursuit, inferior to their later heroic works, Doomesday and Sophonisba. On the other hand, while Alexander considers the Aurora inferior both thematically and poetically, Murray is quite content with the standard reached in Caelia. His preference for Sophonisba is based on the a priori assumption that heroic themes are intrinsically preferable to romance. Moreover he seems convinced that a staunch following of one theme is preferable to variety in whatever form it may embody itself, and so contrasts Caelia's heterogeneity unfavourably with the unity of Sophonisba in S 1. Despite these minor differences, he and Alexander both see sonneteering as a relaxation from more rigorous poetic pursuits.

Caelia like Aurora is a divine creature, who has descended to earth, where "her lookes poore humane soules doth kil". This general similarity leads to the first of several direct borrowings in S 5. The story of the tongue's treachery there vividly depicted, inevitably recalls AUR 4:

> My griefes increase still urg'd me to impart,
> My soules felt-paine unto my fairest faire,
> And that she might b'acquainted with my care:

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1. Caelia 7.

I choos'd my tongue the agent for my heart .....
But I no sooner had attain'd her sight,
When loe my tongue betra'd me to her eyes,
And dastard-like into my throat straight flies,
Leauing me cleane confounded with his flight.

(Murray)

Once to debate my cause whil'st I drew neere,
My staggering toung against me did conspire,
And whil'st it should have charg'd, it did retire,
A certaine signe of loue that was sincere.

(Alexander)[1]

Although Alexander is at greater pains to point out the platonic innuendos of his silence, the basic situation and battle imagery are the same. The poet in each is reduced to a state of confusion and attributes this to excessive love. This is the first example of direct influence from the Aurora.

The description of the brook in S 10 is also reminiscent of Alexander's picture of the Loire in AUR 36. Both are so enamoured at the beauty of their ladies that they slow down their course, in order to view that beauty more clearly. Murray's "christal brooke":

slyding by her seem'd to mourne,
Desirous stil for to behold her beauty,

while Alexander's river:

As loth to part thence where they did repaire,
Still murm'ring did thy plaints t'each stone impart.[2]

The two sonnets are clearly interrelated, as are S 15 and AUR 70, which deal with Apelles' portrait of love's Idea. In each the Greek's artificial product is compared unfavourably with the natural image of a real lady which the poet carries in his heart.

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1. Caelia 5 and The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, ed. L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1929), II, AUR 4, p. 447.

2. Caelia 10 and Alexander, Works, II, AUR 36, p. 476.

Alexander is willing to admit that Apelles and others did:

> Forme rare Idaeas of a divine face,
> Yet never Art to that true worth attain'd
> Which Nature now growne prodigall, imparts
> To one, deare one, whose sacred severall parts,
> Are more admir'd then all that Poets fain'd.

Similarly Murray asserts that the natural image is:

> So diuinely printed in my thought,
> That skilful Greeke, that Loues Idaea wrought,
> And lim'd it so exactly to the eye,
> When beauties rarest patterns he had sought,
> With this thy portrait could not matched bee.[1]

In this instance the figure of Apelles, the superiority of natural over artificial and the sincerity of the poet's love form the theme for both sonnets. As Murray was writing later than Alexander, it is logical to suppose that the former was the imitator, especially in the light of S 7's symbolic references.

Strangely enough this evidence does not conflict with the pattern of influences so far adduced for this period. Alexander is a Scottish source insofar as that was his nationality. But, as has been stressed he was by far the most anglified of the Scottish sonneteers, sneered at by James and praised by Drayton. Murray, in imitating him and writing in English, produces work more closely allied to the English sonneteers than the Scottish tradition of Dunbar and Henryson. Moreover, the two sonnets (S 2 and the Epitaph on Lady Cecily Wemyss) which are based on Jamesean originals are as English as their models. James, despite his pretensions to lead a Scottish vernacular revival, wrote mainly in English and both of Murray's borrowings come from that side of his verse. The account in Am 3 of those divine gifts which contributed to Queen Anne's

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1. Caelia 15 and Alexander, Works, II, AUR 70, p. 497.

personality, produced Murray's:

> Kind Nature once did labour so in birth,
> That all the gods to helpe her were conuein'd.[1]

while James's tribute to Lady Wemyss with its pun on the name of Cecily/Sicily and the reference to warfare between Rome and Carthage, certainly suggested Murray's epitaph:

> Faire famous Isle, where Agathocles rang;
> Where sometymes, stately Siracusa stood;
> Whos fertill feelds, were bathed in bangsters blood,
> When Rome, & ryvall Carthage, strave so lang.
>
> (James VI)

> Faire Cicil's losse, be thou my sable song,
> Not that for which proud Rome and Carthage straue
> But thine more famous, whom ago not long
> Untimely death intomb'd so soone in graue.
>
> (Murray)[2]

As Murray's version is an epitaph, James's a eulogy, Murray is clearly again the debtor. He remains true to his policy of relying on Scottish poets when they are writing like Englishmen. In poetry as in life he kept up a sort of anglified patriotism and so may be said to continue the alignment with English poetry which has so far characterized this period.

On the other hand he seldom borrows from the English sonneteers themselves. The occasional echo of Daniel's Delia, one of the most popular sources for Scottish poets, can be heard. The "account book" image of S 20 was probably suggested by Delia 1:

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1. Caelia 2 and The Poems of King James VI of Scotland, ed. James Craigie, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1958), I, Amatoria 3, p. 69.

2. James op.cit., p. 118 and Murray op.cit., 'Sonet on the death of the Lady Cicily Weemes'.

> Heere, I unclaspe the booke of my charg'd soule,
> Where I have cast th'accounts of all my care,[1]

while the idea of a Northern heroine as advanced in S 3 and S 21 recalls the couplet from Delia 4:

> My joyfull North, where all my fortune lyes,
> The leuell of my hopes desired most.[2]

Spenser's Amoretti 52 ('So oft as homeward I from her depart') is also the origin of S 14 ('Forsaken whether shal I goe alasse'), with its welcoming of her absence as a necessary evil. But despite the closeness of these two sonnets, Murray does not seem to borrow any others from Spenser. Indeed with the exception of a few popular conceits, which might have been taken from Constable and Drayton, this is the full extent of direct English influence on Murray.

The French sonneteers fare even worse, although Murray did read St. Gelais, from whom he got many of the ideas for Sophonisba. The two Icarian sonnets may have stemmed from St. Gelais's fifteenth sonnet although equally possible are a number of Italian poems and Desportes' Hippolyte, No. 1:

> Icare est cheut icy le jeune audacieux,
> Qui pour voler au Ciel eut assez de courage.[3]

It has been pointed out that Desportes' simple, non-idiomatic French and vast fund of conceits made him an especially popular model for English sonneteers, who used his works rather like a dictionary.

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1. Caelia 20:

> Ponder thy cares, and summe them all in one,
> Get the accounts of all thy hearts disease.

Daniel, Poems, p. 11.

2. Caelia 3 - "Beauty ... sought out the North" and Caelia 21 - "Phoenix Caelia ... whom the North retaines". Daniel, Poems, p. 32.

3. Desportes, Amours d'Hippolyte, p. 11.

Murray almost certainly would have read Hippolyte and Diane but their influence is at best indirect.

It is to the Italians that Murray turns, when not pillaging the Aurora, and as usual to Petrarch in particular. Sometimes it is difficult to separate the influences as of course Petrarch was one of Alexander's main sources. S 5 thus suggests AUR 4, but it is equally reminiscent of Rime 49 ('Perch'io t'abbia guardato di menzogna'), which is the model for Alexander's sonnet. In this instance the Petrarchan influence seems to have reached Murray in a somewhat diluted form. Such is not the case with S 4. The story there told of the eyes betraying the heart and so casting the poet into slavery comes directly from Rime 84. The similar progression in the opening sestets should especially be noted:

"Occhi piangete, accompagnate il core,
Che di vostro fallir morte sostene."
"Cosi sempre facciamo, e ne convene
Lamentar piu l'altrui che 'l nostro errore."
"Gia prime ebbe per voi l'entrata Amore
La onde ancor come in suo albergo vene."

(Petrarch)

Thy beauty, Caelia, so betrayd mine eyes,
That at the first they forc'd my heart to yeeld:
Thus ouercome into a bloodlesse field,
A yeelding slaue unto thy mercy flees,
Where humble prostrate on affections knees,
Tyde with the chaines of strongest loue (alas)
I do intreat .....

(Murray)[1]

Even the conceit of punishment in the form of drowning by tears is carried over by Murray, whose version is not without conviction, although lacking the dramatic form of the original. Although he adapts this opening into a plea for mercy rather than Petrarch's

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1. Petrarch Rime, p. 123 and Caelia 4.

lament on the fallibility of human judgment, there can be little doubt that this was his source.

Another probable Petrarchan influence is to be found in S 6. The account there of his unrewarded misery:

> Still must I grone, still must I sigh, still mourne,
> And cannot grones, nor sighes, nor teares haue place,
> To make faire Caelia one sweete smile returne,
> Or at the least to shew some signe of grace?[1]

is so close to that portrayed in Rime 44 as to make coincidence unlikely. Petrarch too suffers without the consolation of "sighes, teares, grones" and expresses his misery with the same tone of fervent indignation:

> Mi vedete straziare a mille morti;
> Ne lagrima pero discese ancora
> Da' be' vostr' occhi, ma disdegno et ira.[2]

It is just possible that one of Sannazaro's or Tansillo's later sonnets on the same theme may be the direct source, but the parallels with the Petrarchan original seem to me convincing enough to make such a supposition unlikely.

The idea of writing two Icarian sonnets with different applications however, was originated by Tansillo, not Petrarch. In Sonnet 25 of his collection ('Amor m'impenna l'ale, e tanto in alto') he fears the death of Icarus, while in the immediately following sonnet ('Poi che spiegat'ho l'ale al bel desio') this fear has disappeared. This is the same procedure as that adopted by Murray and I prefer to see this double sonnet behind S 11 and 12 rather than any of the numerous single poems written on the Icarus theme about

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1. Caelia 6.

2. Petrarch, Rime, p. 64.

this time. Boiardo too seems to have provided Murray with material for Caelia. S 9 with its contrast between the lady's angelic features and cruel nature uses the same theme and imagery contrasts as S CXXX in Boiardo's collection:

> Ben dissi io gia piu volte, e dissi il vero,
> Che una suave e angelica figura
> Esser non puote dispietata e dura,
> Ne viso umano asegna core altero.[1]

The conceit of sending his heart to attend upon the lady in absence as described in S 13 had also been anticipated by Boiardo in S CXIV ('Tu te ne vai, e teco vene Amore'); while S 21's device of asking various elements of a natural landscape to plead his case with the lady may have derived from the somewhat similar situation envisaged by Boiardo in S XC:

> Per l'alte rame e per le verde fronde
> Non ho mie voce al tutto messo invano,
> Che il senso a li ocelletti e fatto umano
> Tanto che il nome tuo non se nasconde.[2]

Certainly Murray, like both Alexander and Fowler, does not confine his interests in Italian literature to Petrarch, but also uses the conceits, images and themes of minor poets.

Thus, although Murray relies on Anglo-Scottish verse rather than its pure English counterpart, he still continues the revolution away from castalian standards. French authors have little influence on his verse, nor have the Scottish makars or the lyricists of the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscripts. It is Petrarch who is the strongest foreign source, although Tansillo and Boiardo unite with

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1. Matteo Boiardo, Il Canzoniere, ed. Carlo Steiner (Torino, 1927), p. 204.

2. Ibid., p. 145.

him to make the Italian influence on Caelia quite considerable. There can be little wonder that James began to despair of the fate of his castalian band when he read the anglified works of Alexander and his disciple, Murray. Together they aimed at capping the Union of the Crowns with a union of poetry. In this they were largely successful.

STYLE

Stylistically, however, Murray found the demands of writing in English rather constricting. His verse stutters and halts, so that the reader feels he would be more at home composing in Scots. Some of the lines in Caelia sound more like the uncertain first compositions in a foreign tongue than the mature outpourings of a skilled poet:

> Yet whether shall my resolutions goe,
> To thinke you are, or not unkinde I must
> Th'effect saies I, and yet my fancy, no,
> Being loth such undeserved harme to trust.

All too frequently a superfluous exclamation is needed to satisfy metrical demands:

> Forsaken whether shal I goe (alasse)
> What place to me can any comfort grant.[1]

Both of these suggest an uncertainty in handling one's medium, inconsistent with the heights of poetic achievement. On their own they would be enough to throw the quality of Murray's verse into question but unfortunately they go together with two further defects, which determine his position as the least effective stylist among all the major Scottish sonneteers. As always, lack of confidence

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1. Caelia 8, and Caelia 14.

in handling a language, which is partially foreign, results in a tendency to aureation. The intelligent, yet injudicious poet tries to hide inefficiency behind a torrent of polysyllables. Murray unfortunately falls into this practice of deception and so openings like that of S 3 are frequent:

> Beauty beeing long a resident above,
> With importune celestiall sutes was deav'd.[1]

When this unnecessary complexity of language unites with chaotic syntax, almost unbelievably poor lines occur:

> The Suns fond child when he arriv'd into
> The sights' inveigling palace of his fire,
> Incens'd with a praeposterous desire,
> Would needs his fathers cart step to,
> So fondly I ....[2]

This suspension at the opening of S 11 is at once clumsy and needlessly aureate. The phrase "sights' inveigling palace" presents no clear image, while the lengths to which Murray goes in order to find a rhyme for "into" are farcical. Complexity of word and syntax, stilted phraseology and metre, farfetched rhymes and superfluous exclamations, all these indictments can justly be levelled against the poet. The sad but inescapable truth is that Murray was writing in a closely-related, yet foreign language. To a greater or less degree all the anglo-Scots sonneteers faced up to this problem. Most of them betrayed a little difficulty, the occasional hesitant usage of words, frequent retreats to the more homely vernacular, but generally the standard of their verse is surprisingly high.

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1. Caelia 3. The underlining is my own.

2. Caelia 11.

Murray is something of an exception and the study of Murray is thus ideally suited for a closer examination of the linguistic difficulties standing in the way of a Scots writer composing in English. These authors more naturally used the dialect of the castalians. When James moved south they adopted the language spoken at the London court, but were always afraid of making errors or introducing incomprehensible dialecticisms. Foreigners do not make unconscious errors of this kind, being unlikely to use a French word under the mistaken impression that it is standard English. In this respect the Scots were at a disadvantage and James Beattie complained of the difficulty to Sylvester Douglas as late as 1778:

> We are slaves to the language we write in and are continually afraid of committing GROSS blunders; and, when an easy, familiar, idiomatic phrase occurs, dare not adopt it, if we recollect no authority, for fear of Scotticisms.[1]

The situation was worse shortly after the Union of the Crowns, before the additional unifying element of a common parliament had been introduced. No real precedent for Scotsmen speaking or writing in English had been created and it should not be forgotten that Murray and his compères were the Scottish pioneers of written English. This being the case, Murray's poetry can be viewed more understandingly, his lapses pardoned as a medievalist would pardon a young student just beginning to speak Latin fluently. It is a great injustice that this pioneering band should be condemned for awkward syntax when they were really embarking on a new vernacular and so could claim to be the Aschams of Scottish literature.

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1. W, Forbes, An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie LL.D. (London, 1824), I, 417.

Attacked at home for lacking patriotism, across the border for not vying with English artists in fluency, they were actually more successful than anyone had a right to expect. These points should always be borne in mind before dismissing Murray or any of the Anglo-Scots, for if Burns receives the commiserations of millions for having to write in a limited dialect form, how much more sympathy should the Anglo-Scots be granted for foreseeing this trend and attempting to master an almost alien language? With Alexander and Murray began one of the most promising movements in Scottish literature, the admission that the dialect forms of Scotland were no longer adequate and that the Scots would have to abandon parochialism and swim with the current.

Seen against this background, Murray's stylistic defects become understandable. His failings are those common to writers in a new medium. Thus his aureation, his unhappy compound-words and frequent parentheses are also characteristic of Caxton's first efforts at writing English prose. To these however he adds the three favourite Petrarchan devices just as Fowler and Alexander had done before him.[1] Once again, antithesis is the most popular, especially in the last couplet. The conclusion of S 4 is typical:

> Thrise happy thraldome if thou pitty moue,
> Unhappy bondage if disdain'd my loue.[2]

Similar endings appear in S 8, 11, 12, 16 and 19, while further antitheses can be found in S 3/11-12; 6/6; 8/7; the second Henry

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1. M. M. Pieri in Pétrarque et Ronsard (Marseille, 1896), was one of the first to note Petrarch's predilections for antithesis, paradox and wordplay.

2. Caelia 4.

sonnet, l. 11, and the second John Murray sonnet, l. 12.

Paradoxes, as in the Tarantula and the Aurora, are less common, and usually combined with wordplay as in the memorable conclusion to S 15:

> Not by Loues selfe, Loues beauty formed he,
> But by thy selfe, thy selfe art form'd in me.[1]

Reference should be made to the first John Murray sonnet, which also ends on a paradoxical note, but on the whole this figure is uncommon. Wordplay on the other hand abounds, the novelty of the poet's medium encouraging Petrarchan example. Simple echoing experiments like the "praises praysing" of the first Henry sonnet soon give way to more complicated patterns as in the book/look opposition which forms the whole argument of S 19. James VI's wordplay on Cecily and Sicily is also revived and generally Murray shows himself not inexpert in handling this technique.

Stylistically there can be no doubt that Fowler, Alexander and Murray are heavily influenced by Petrarch, while the latter two betray a number of weaknesses resulting from their decision to write in English. Though Murray's small output prevents monotonous repetition of antitheses and wordplay, he lacks even the superficial facility with which Alexander masters the English language. Yet in view of the difficulties facing him, it would be foolish to dismiss his work contemptuously. At that date many Englishmen were composing worse sonnet sequences than Caelia, although unhampered by linguistic problems. Murray was an innovator and as such should be judged.

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1. Caelia 15.

ALEXANDER CRAIG

BIOGRAPHY

As Alexander Craig never rose to heights of political eminence, little can be gleaned about his life. He was probably born in Banff about 1567 and there attended the village school. Certainly in the second dedication of The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies of 1606, he refers to himself as 'A. C. Banfa-Britan' instead of the more usual 'Scoto-Britane'. He then went to St. Andrews University, where his name appears in the lists for St. Leonard's College in 1582. He became a Master of Arts in 1586, two years before another Scottish sonneteer, Sir Robert Ayton. Craig and Ayton attended the same college and remained close friends for the rest of their lives.[1]

In 1587 he was acting as servant cum notary to Maister John Chein of Fortrie. This fact can be established from an Assedation of the Teyndis of Turriff Parish signed by Chein on the 15th of February in that year and countersigned by "my servitor Alexander Craig". The reasons for identifying this Craig with the poet are strong. Fortrie is only twelve miles from Banff, his home town; Chein was also a graduate of St. Andrews, and probably met Craig there, while in 1588 a charter is signed by "M. Alex. Craig servo M. Joannis Chene de Fortrie, later de Pitfichie". As the M. indicates a Master of Arts, it seems likely that the poet and this servant are one and the same person.

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1. St. Andrews University Records, Acta Rectorum, III, 'Nomina Incorporatorum', 1582.

2. Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, Spalding Club, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1847-69), II, 349. For the career of Chein, see Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (1585-92), IV, 431, 474, 524, 534.

In all probability Craig remained in this position until 1603. Chein was a man of growing influence in the North, who by 1594 had become Provost of Aberdeen. His servant would be well paid and assured of future security. Alexander Craig however was an adventurous man, and in 1603 forsook his post to follow James VI to London. He was one of many, as Alexander's 'Vagrancy Act' bears witness. But two factors guaranteed partial success for him at court. He began to write poetry in favour of the king. His excesses of flattery appealed to James, especially at a time when other writers had run out of encomia. Craig was aware of this and used it to advantage:

> When others cease, now I begin to sing;
> And now when others hold their peace, I shout.[1]

As a result, in 1605 he was granted a pension of 600 marks, "upoun Consideratioun of the gude trew and thankfull seruice done to his hienes by his seruitor mr alexander Craig and to inhable his faithfull continuance thairin".[2] James was at this period concerned to find replacements for poets who had remained in Scotland or had died. While Fowler and Alexander were still actively composing, he was worried in case his castalian band might cease to exist altogether. Craig, the first Northern poet, was thus doubly welcome.

He was also a qualified notary, with at least seventeen years experience behind him. He was at once drafted into the service of

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1. The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, ed. David Laing, Hunterian Club (Glasgow, 1873). 'The Poeticall Essayes', Sonnet 1, 'To his Maiestie', p. 7.

2. Registration of Presentations to Beneficis, Vol. III, fol. 117b.

the Earl of Dunbar, Treasurer of Scotland, and in this capacity witnessed a number of documents. For example, when the United Provinces granted an annuity of £5,000 to Henry, Prince of Wales in 1606, the signature on the bond was Craig's:

> Written be Mr Alexander Craig, servitor to the said George, Earle of Dunbar, att our Pallace of Whytehall the 7th day of Appryll the year of God 1606.[1]

In his presence, Sir David Murray handed over a golden casket containing the money to Henry. As James was also present, no fewer than three Scottish sonneteers were involved in this ceremony.

Dunbar clearly became Craig's patron, for the Poetical Recreations of 1609 are dedicated to him and he frequently refers to him as "the true Maecenas of my Muse",[2] both in dedications and verse. As James regarded himself as the Scottish Maecenas, this was hardly a tactful turn of phrase and the gradual falling off in Craig's pension payments may not be entirely unconnected with it. Certainly Craig came more and more to identify himself with Dunbar and in 1608 accompanied him north, when he was appointed a commissioner to the General Assembly. It looks as if his departure had been ordered by the king, for in the Poetical Recreations of 1609, he writes 'To his Maiestie':

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1. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (1604-7), VII, 226.

2. For example at the end of 'The Amorose Songes' of 1606, he places his imitation of the poems of Raleigh and Marlowe under a separate dedication:

   > 'To my Honorable good Lord and Maister (the true Maecenas of my Muse) George Earle of Dunbar'.

   The use of the word 'true' suggests a 'false' as well, and the latter was probably James VI, the self-styled 'Maecenas' of Scottish verse.

> Thus will I goe, because thou do'st command,
> Even for thy sake from out thy sight some space.[1]

These poems suggest that like all the sonneteers so far discussed he had become estranged from James. Life at court was proving unprofitable, and the attractions of Scotland returned to his mind:

> Beyond the Mountains of the frostie North,
> I some-time seru'd a Caledonian Dame .....
> Blind Cupid thus, blind Fortune are againe mee,
> My Loue at home, my Luck abrod disdaine mee.[2]

In 1609 he married his 'Caledonian dame' in the person of Isobella Chisholm and was granted the lands of Meyane in the Rothiemay district near Banff.

It does seem that he held two estates at this period, for apart from the Meyane estates, he had since 1609 designated himself as 'Of Rosecraig'. The only references to Rosecraig point to a small holding in Little Dunkeld, noted by James Stobie in a map of the Perth and Clackmannan area, (1783). It is more than possible that this was Craig's country retreat, a supposition strengthened by an event of 1617. In that year, James for the first time since the Union returned to Scotland. On the 22nd of May he reached Kinnaird where he received a poem of welcome from Joannes Leochaeus and one from Craig:

> Great Man of God, whom God doeth call, and choose
> On Earth his great Lieutenents place to use,
> Wee blesse the tyme ....[3]

Laing is "at some loss to assign any good reason for Craig's appearance on that occasion" and suggests that he must have known that

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1. Craig, Works, 'Poetical Recreations' (1609), p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 9.
3. Ibid., 'Miscellaneous Poems', p. 3.

James would not venture as far north as Banff.[1] In fact Kinnaird Castle is less than two miles from Rosecraig and the poet was obviously then at his country home.

He maintained his connections with Meyane and Banff however, for he represented the latter burgh in the Scottish Parliament of 1621. Its primary function was to bring about a union between the Scottish and English churches, and its first business was to ratify the notorious Five Articles of Perth. These had been wholeheartedly supported by the Secretary Melrose, but the country generally was violently opposed to them. Craig was present to hear Melrose's speech and that of the Chancellor Dunfermline, both in favour of the Articles. He heard the twenty four hours delay, which had been expected, being waived aside, and was urged to vote either with an 'agree' or a 'disagree'. Calderwood reports that "the second syllabe of Disagrie, did eate up the first syllabe, speciallie in these who did speake with a low voice, being threatned and boasted with minassing eyes and looks of the secretare; and so the negative were noted as affirmative".[2] Various unfair methods were used and the ratification was eventually carried by 85 votes to 59. Craig voted in favour and so condoned kneeling at communion, the confirmation of children by bishops and the liberty of private baptism and communion. This was Saturday, 4th August 1621, known ever afterwards as 'The Black Saturday'.[3]

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1. Ibid., Introduction, p. 3, "He no doubt knew his Royal master would not go to Banff, and visit the banks of the Dovern."

2. Acts of Parliament of Scotland (1593-1625), IV, 596, 7. David Calderwood, The History of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. Thomas Thomson, Wodrow Society (Edinburgh, 1845), VII, 497.

3. Ibid., pp. 488-505.

In 1623 the last Poetical Recreations were published at Aberdeen and dedicated to the Earl of Enyie, one of the foremost Scottish royalists. Four years later the poet was dead, for in that year the Services of Heirs for Banffshire record that James Craig was officially recognized as heir of Mr. Alexander Craig, his father on the 20th December 1627.[1] Like so many Scots of his day he had tasted the life at James's London court, only to return to the comparative peace of his native Scotland. Both Murray and Fowler in their later years showed the same tendency, but higher rank made a complete break with England impossible. In all probability they envied Craig the pastoral pleasures of his Rosecraig retreat, which he celebrates in verse:

> In a fair nook, great store of fruit that yields
> Psophidius lives, and tills his humble fields:
> Content with little, blest in few desires,
> He seeks no less, he to no more aspires.[2]

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the tightly knit castalian band has broken up. James was constantly antagonising his fellow poets. His journey south meant a geographical division among the Scottish poets. Scottish poetry like Scotland itself is divided from within. Its practitioners have the choice of remaining in Edinburgh or following their king to London, of remaining true to the Scottish dialect or trying to master Southern English. Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that much of the poetry

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1. Services of Heirs for Banffshire, Inquisitiones Generales No. 1372, Dec. 20, 1627. "Iacobus Craig haeres Mag. Alexandri Craig de Rosecraig Patris." Lib. x. No. 46.

2. Latin verses of Craig translated by Alexander Gibb and cited by Laing in his introduction to the Hunterian volume, Introduction, p. 20, Note 1.

written in the period is second rate.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE

In this chapter, three of the main aims have been to distinguish between the different Scottish sequences; to assess the growth of interest in Petrarchanism and to suggest English parallels. Fowler's Tarantula in these terms is a narrative sequence, heavily influenced by Petrarch in form and content, and similar in outlook to Sidney's Astrophil and Stella. Alexander's is a philosophical sequence, even more heavily indebted to Petrarch for its ideas and possibly based on Spenser's Amoretti. Murray's Caelia progresses in terms of related groups and setpieces, appears to have derived its Petrarchan ideas at second hand, through Alexander and looks back to the earlier heterogeneous sequences favoured by Wyatt or Surrey.

Alexander Craig's Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies provides perhaps the most interesting contribution to this pattern. Craig produced a new type of sequence by praising not a single lady, but eight. By so doing he unites the narrative interest of Fowler's sequence with the philosophical enquiry of Alexander. One can follow with interest the progress of his affection for each lady in turn, but as each one represents a different attitude to love, the sequence as a whole gives a wider account of that passion in all its variety, than any other Scottish sequence of the period. Idea for example represents the perfect love, a creation of the poetic imagination. Erantina is the reincarnation of Laura and in the sonnets dedicated to her, all the Petrarchan conceits and posturings are reconsidered. Kala provides the poet with a real, imperfect

love affair, somewhat reminiscent of Ronsard's affection for Marie, while Lais holds him captive in the merciless grasp of sensual infatuation. The other four allow the poet to voice four different types of conventional, poetic fervour. Each is aimed at a different quality. Cynthia is admired for her serious virtue, Pandora for her nobility and modesty, Penelope for her wealth and Lythocardia for her sophistication and intellect. The result is a sequence which combines the interest of story and philosophy, while showing less direct Petrarchan influence than in any other of the Scottish sequences.

It has been underestimated by earlier critics, because they failed to understand some of the formal, stylistic and thematic principles behind Craig's verse. They thought it unmetrical, when in fact it sometimes depended on a four stress pattern with an undetermined number of unstressed syllables rather than on metrical feet. They thought he misspelled words or used them ungrammatically, without realising that this was motivated by a desire for double associations, (e.g. alternall = alternate and eternal, see Chapter 1). They condemned him for pedantry, when his classical references nearly all took the form of apt conceits. It is important to remember these earlier critical misconceptions, before attempting to reassess Craig's contribution.

Craig also continues the heavy bias towards love as a sonneteering theme. He composes 122 sonnets, 105 of which are concerned with this topic. Of the rest, 11 are addressed to King James or Anne, and the remainder lament his bad fortune in England and the death of friends. In discussing the 101 poems in <u>The Amorose Songes</u> I shall separate the various strands of narrative by

isolating in turn the sequences to Idea, Erantina, Kala and Lais. This constitutes the descent of a moral staircase from ideal love to whoredom, and will highlight the breadth of Craig's scheme. The conventional sequences will then be considered together, with the archetypal virtues of each lady pointed out. In this way the essential contributions made by Craig to Scottish Sonneteering will be assessed as economically as possible.

THE AMOROSE SONGES: IDEA

Idea has been equated with perfect love on five main grounds. The name Idea refers to the creation by the Greek artist Apelles, of a perfect woman, formed from the separate beauties of many. It has connections with the Platonic Idea of perfect form, which unified the various imperfect earthly manifestations of objects and virtues. A lady named Idea then, is so called because she transcends normal love and normal beauty. That Craig intended us to view her on a different level from the other seven in the series is suggested by this name, and confirmed when he uses sonnets to Idea to open and close the sequence, as well as composing more poems to her than to any other of his ladies. Eighteen sonnets have her as their inspiration, while the closest rivals, Lais and Pandora, can only muster fifteen each. The number of sonnets composed, the order in which they are presented and the lady's name all suggest that Idea represents a higher vision of love than in any of the other strands which interweave to form the Amorose Songes.

Furthermore, before beginning his poetic praises, Craig wrote a letter to each of his eight mistresses. In the one to Idea he reaches heights of worship (matchlesse Idea; divine Idea) and depths of humility (Idea's euer obleged and unmanumissible

slaue),[1] which are unparalleled elsewhere. She is seen as a monarch casting him into slavery, while his duty is rather to worship than to love. It thus becomes clear at the outset that this passion is as much for the 'idea' of perfection as it is for a real lady. Any doubts on this subject are resolved by the myth described in the opening pair of sonnets. S 1 depicts the original division of the world, with Cupid being the last God to choose his particular domain. The full irony of the situation is latter commented on:

> When Cupid spied they gaue him but the Ground;
> Impatient wagg, went out to walke abrod,
> And conquering these that were but lately cround,
> He made him selfe ouer all those Gods a God.[2]

The poet himself yields to Cupid in the last couplet, thus completing an imaginative hierarchy stretching from the blind God downwards. In S 2 however, Craig reverses this situation by introducing Idea on the scene. Using trickery reminiscent of Alexander's Aurora she beguiles Cupid into lending her his arrows. She turns round and fires at the god himself, thus replacing him at the top of Craig's poetic universe:

> They change, and she shot Loue, that he was faine
> To skarfe his eyes, and begge the Bow againe.[3]

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1. It will be noticed that some of the ladies' names (e.g. Kala and Lithocardia) are Greek translations of female qualities. Others (e.g. Pandora and Penelope) refer to classical mythology, while Lais was the name of two notorious Corinthian courtesans. Idea takes us back to the Platonic Idea of beauty, while Cynthia is another name for the goddess Diana. Here as in all else Craig relies on the classics for his information, while giving us a 'nominal' insight into the characters of the women concerned.

2. Craig, Works, 'The Amorose Songes', Idea p. 25.

3. Ibid., Idea p. 26.

Thus by the end of S 2 the nature of Craig's sequence has been explained. It is to be a paean of love in general, the expression of a philosophy which sees love as the ultimate ruling power in life. And at the head of Love stands Idea, a creature real or unreal, who for the poet symbolises that emotion in its purest perfection.

At the same time there are two clear indications that despite the ideal values she possesses in the poet's imagination, Idea like the other ladies in the sequence, is a real woman of Craig's acquaintance. The sonnets 'More then I am, accursed mought I be' and 'With chast desires I serue and honor thee' are headed 'At Idea's direction' and this is more likely to refer to an actual request than to the promptings of perfect love in the abstract. In addition 'I put my hand by hazard in the hat' and an eighteen line sonnet 'Last yeare I drew (faire Dame) by very change', mention a New Year's game in which the men draw the names of those ladies whom they will champion in the months to come from a hat. The poet marvels at the happy coincidence of fortune which resulted in his picking Idea's name. The progress of their love is then happily summed up in a hat-heart antithesis:

> Then from a Hat I drew thee err I saw thee,
> Now from my hart it is my doome to draw thee.[1]

It would be an error to consider such particularisation as being too trivial to be consistent with Idea's symbolisation of ideal love. Just as this series links narrative and philosophy, so the ladies are at once real creatures and representatives of one

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1. Ibid., Idea p. 112.

possible attitude to love.

In the sequence dedicated to Idea, Craig advances from the mythological account of Idea's conquering of the world, to an assessment of their love in terms of destruction and creation. The linking poem is 'The chastest Child will oft for mercie cry' in which the love/hate relationship, so frequently expounded by Alexander is expressed in terms of a child being beaten.[1] Just as the latter cannot scream, so the poet is impotent against the force of his passion. After the poems on Cupid however, the vision of the poet being struck by Idea, suggests her whipping the blind God as well as Craig. Thus the themes of the poet's love and Cupid's servility are combined in the single image of the child.

One by one the drawbacks of love for an 'Ideal' are drawn in. The committedness of one's love renders cavilling against misery impossible. The lady's perfection renders her inapproachable, so, like the leper he retreats to methods other than verbal communication. His poetry must serve the same purpose as the leper's clapping his dish:

> No words I use for to lament my lose,
> But make my Lines to be the Lippars Clap.[2]

'In stately Troy which was by force of fire' draws attention to another of the destructive aspects of this type of love. So distant is the lady that many sacrifice themselves before her as on an altar, an idea which is taken a stage further in the next sonnet,

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1. This is another example of an unusual spelling, producing a double reference. 'Chastest' at once suggests 'most chaste' and 'chastised'.

2. Ibid., Idea p. 35,

which stresses how her cruelty is masked by apparent helplessness. Like the Parthians who pretend to flee, only later to ambush their opponents, she retreats as a means of emphasising superior strength:

> O sweet discord, O sweet concord agane,
> She flies to kill, I chase her to be tane.[1]

In all these sonnets however, no word of criticism is directed against Idea. The weakness lies in the poet, and her only fault lies in setting too high a standard for mortal achievement.

The next five sonnets look at the other side of the picture. In 'Faire louelie Haebae Queen of pleasant Youth' she is seen as the inspirer of his muse and:

> More excellent then I can set thee foorth.[2]

There follow the two requested poems, which praise her beauty and ability to convert lust into a fuller platonic affection. Now she is seen as a creative angel, one who has taught him altruism and the capacity to immortalise in verse. Even, in two dialogue sonnets between Charon and the poet's Ghost, we learn that she has taught him to brave death. On each occasion he refuses Craig safe passage, first because he is ruled by love, secondly because he is not yet dead. The strength of the poet's love grants him the ingenuity to conquer these refusals:

> The Darts of Loue both Boat & Oares, shal bee,
> Sighs shall be winds, and Teares a Styx to mee,

and

> No Charon thou shalt lie
> For Loue hath wings, and I haue learned to flie.[3]

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1. Ibid., Idea p. 50.
2. Ibid., Idea p. 51.
3. Ibid., Idea p. 85 and 86.

And it is on a similar note of triumph and faith that the Idea sequence ends. It began with a myth depicting Idea's superiority over all creatures including the gods and then explained both the drawbacks and the advantages of a love for perfection incarnate. Finally he finds union with her through the medium of his poetry, a consolation for the physical union rendered impossible by his frailty and her chastity. In the end therefore he finds a form of fulfilment with his super-deity, which demands no loss of dignity on her part or hyper-idealisation of self:

> My wandring Verse hath made thee known all-whare
> Thou known by them, & they are known by mee:
> Thou, they, and I, a true relation beare:
> As but the one, an other can not bee.[1]

Already too, the finest weapons in Craig's poetic armoury have been put to use. He shares with Baldynneis the capacity for dramatisation as is witnessed by the short, intense dialogue used in the Charon sonnets or the building up of atmosphere in the description of the three brothers who pursued their foes so far that they themselves were ambushed. But even more noticeable are the apt unusual parallels, mostly drawn from Classical authors, with which he reinforces his arguments. Few authors would have likened a lady's haughtiness to "the Cocatrice in net of gold" hanging in Apollo's church in Troy or used the leper's clap to represent verse, as an indirect method of begging mercy. Like the Metaphysicals he chooses parallels which present one similarity alongside greater dissimilarity. Unlike the Metaphysicals he does not allow comparison and thing compared to fuse into a single entity.

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1. Ibid., Idea p. 144.

This process is best exemplified in the one Idea sonnet so far unmentioned, 'The Locrian King Zaleucus made a law'. Here the story of Zaleucus's law against adultery, is used as a parallel for the poet's sending a new year sonnet to his lady. At first sight the situations seem entirely different. But when Zaleucus put out his son's eye and one of his own, he showed his love, while keeping the law. In the same way Craig's new year sonnet is written in obedience to tradition and as an expression of affection:

> Zaleucus-like these Lines are sent by mee,
> To keepe the law and kith my Loue to thee.[1]

Craig is thus a master of the Metaphysical trick of focussing attention on a single link between two opposed situations. This gives his sonnets a uniqueness, an individuality not attained by Alexander or Fowler. Like Murray he points towards the Metaphysicals and perhaps even beyond them to Caroline poets like Waller and Rochester. Like the two last named he prefers to observe both elements of his contrast separately, rather than forge them into a new imaginative synthesis.

THE AMOROSE SONGES: ERANTINA

Of the eight minor sequences, this is the most heavily indebted to Petrarch. The passion it delineates is Petrarchan in every detail and this in its turn implies a certain similarity to the Idea sequence, for both deal with a divine lady, committed to chastity and cruelty. Consequently, the opening sonnet to Erantina is also a myth, establishing her superiority over the rest of nature. The course of the sun is traced from the haunts

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1. Ibid., Idea p. 96.

of the gods round the earth, with the conclusion that in none of these places:

> Nor no where els can any match at all
> Be found to her; whose vertues makes me thrall.[1]

Erantina like Idea rules over gods and men, but Ptolemaic cosmology rather than pagan allegoresis is used to establish this fact. As in the Idea sequence too Craig ends on a note of triumph, inspired by faithfulness. The last sonnet to Idea was headed 'His faythful service to Idea'. The last to Erantina is headed 'His constant resolution to Erantina' and like the other deals with his loyalty in love. Despite the many temptations of life he will remain true:

> Yet all those iarres shall not my minde remoue
> The day of death shall be the date of loue.[2]

Like continguous links in the hierarchical chain of being the sonnets to Idea and Erantina share some qualities. They open with similar myths, end on a similar note of triumphant loyalty and include similar visions of the lady as cruel saint or disdainful beauty.

At the same time, there are considerable differences between the two. Idea was Craig's individual idea of the perfect love. Erantina, as the second sonnet in that sequence asserts, is merely the recreation of another poet's ideal. Petrarch, when writing of Laura was prophesying Erantina's arrival:

> Sweete louely Laura, modest, chast, and cleene,
> It seemes that Poet Petrarche tooke delight,
> Thy spotles prayse in daintie lines to dight,
> By Prophecies, before thy selfe was seene.[3]

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1. Ibid., Erantina, p. 31.
2. Ibid., Erantina, p. 132.
3. Ibid., Erantina, p. 32.

As a result much of the originality which characterized the Idea sequence vanishes, and instead conventional Petrarchan imagery returns. The poet is a mariner "o'reset with Seas, strange winds, and stormie raine", held captive by a "jayler", a "saint", a "tyrant". Love is "blind naked" and pierces his heart "tho wrought of Vulcan's steele" with a "sharpe and golden dart". In short, traditional imagery is more prevalent in these twelve sonnets than the apt classical parallels favoured for Idea.

This does not mean the complete abolition of such parallels. Indeed two of the most successful sonnets to Erantina derive their strength from classical references. In 'The Tyrant Nero houering to behold', Craig uses both his capacity for dramatisation and the finding of apt parallels. The full extent of Nero's cruelty is first emphasised by allowing the readers to witness his behaviour at the burning of Rome:

> He saw the rich, the poore, the young, the old,
> Amid the flams in present poynt to spill:
> Yet woondering on that woonder, stood he still,
> And (cruell man) would neither mend nor meene,
> But tooke his pleasure to espie their ill.[1]

By a clever alteration of emphasis the sestet turns aside from Rome to consider the poet's own grief, which he fondly imagines even Nero would have pitied. The innuendo is of course that Erantina is even crueller than the Roman tyrant. Craig, by establishing at some length the tortures suffered by the Romans and Nero's complete indifference, suggests the extent of his own misery by implication.

Even more striking, because the parallel is less common and more ingenious, is 'Outthrough the faire and famous Scythian lands'.

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1. Ibid., Erantina, p. 58.

Faced with the need to establish an objective correlative for the lady's combination of virtue and disdain, Craig scorns the more usual saint/tyrant or flame/ice oppositions and instead draws from his mass of classical knowledge the tale of Exampeus poisoning the River Hypanis. The lady's virtues are then likened to the clear, crystal waters of the river:

> Yet are they spoyld with poysning cold disdaine
> And such as drink thy beauties floods are slaine.[1]

The D.N.B. critic who unthinkingly condemned Craig for excessive erudition should have studied more carefully the use to which this erudition is put in his sonnets. The poet clearly takes great care to choose a parallel which is at once unusual, visually striking and apt to the situation in hand. Even in a more conventional sequence like that to Erantina such comparisons are present.

For the most part however, the Erantina group sketches in a Petrarchan backcloth of ideas. The approach is similar to that adopted by Fowler in the introductory sonnets of the Tarantula (S 1-14). After the lady's divinity has been indicated in the opening myth, all the symptoms of Petrarchan affection are enumerated. In 'Well may I read as on a snowie sheet' the poet's grief and Erantina's cruelty are stressed via a physical description of their faces. This particular poem has many predecessors in Italian and French verse, and even stylistically it observes the tenets of the Petrarchan creed, culminating with a paradoxical antithesis:

> I loue my foe, thou hats thy faithfull friend.[2]

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1. Ibid., Erantina, p. 64.

2. Ibid., Erantina, p. 49.

This theme of grief and cruelty is then given a more original treatment in the Nero sonnet which follows, but the storm imagery of 'Even as a man by darke that goes astray' marks a quick return to the main Petrarchan code. This time the emphasis is on the poet's servility and Erantina's saintliness, while the grief motif is widened to include absence.

The 'Hypanis' sonnet comes next, continuing the paradoxicality of the poet's situation, but using this time a beauty/disdain opposition. The remaining works discuss in turn the problems of jealousy; of the love/hate relationship which makes a man adore the source of his misery; the necessity for humble endurance; the fear of lost harmony; the physical signs of excessive grief and the need for hypocrisy when one hides "harmes within (the) heart". None of these sonnets is better than mediocre, for Craig lacks the stylistic finesse, the mental agility to compose successfully in the Petrarchan vein. He works better when using the octet to explain a legend and the sestet to point its application. When tied down by prearranged attitudes and verbal tricks, his verse loses its vivid drama and as a result the Erantina sequence is one of the least successful in a very uneven series. What Craig does achieve is the recreation of the main Petrarchan traits, within the narrow space of twelve sonnets. What he fails to do is persuade the reader that he is greatly interested in these traits.

The Erantina sequence then represents a step lower down the moral sequence than Idea. Both ladies are similar in their divinity, chastity and beauty, but one is Craig's conception of love, felt in his own heart and worked out by his own mind. The other is a received version of love, a given model to be learned by

heart and recited to successive objects of infatuation. This lighter attitude is noticeable in the letter to Erantina, which precedes the sequence. Love is not viewed as a purifying flame, but a type of emotional and mental exercise. It is at once a stimulus for the emotions ('It is a wonderful delight I take to liue in loue') and for the pen ('I muse, I roue and walke: I enregister my humors and my passions'). That is why Idea and not Erantina gets the honour of opening and closing the sequence. It also accounts for the originality of imagery and argument present in the one group of sonnets and almost entirely omitted from the other.

THE AMOROSE SONGES: KALA

The thirteen sonnets to Kala resemble closely Ronsard's lyrics to Marie. Just as Ronsard introduced more pastoral images and simplified his style to suit Marie's tastes, so Craig introduces more rural parallels into the Kala group than elsewhere. While classical allusions dominated for Idea and Petrarchan conceits were most prevalent in the Erantina sonnets, Kala is described as:

> Faire Kala, fairer then the Wooll most faire,
> Of these my faire and siluer fleeced Sheepel

and the poet's pleas addressed to the:

> Faire Sheppeardesse, for thee alone I weepe.[2]

This pastoral atmosphere is all the more important because it is introduced into the opening sonnet of the Kala sequence and Craig nearly always establishes the tone for the whole group in his first

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1. Ibid., Kala, p. 42.

2. Ibid.

poem. Both Idea and Erantina had been viewed as mythological super-deities, but by way of contrast Kala is a mere shepherdess, with whom the poet wishes to share his life.

Because Craig compares Kala to a shepherdess, one cannot necessarily presume that this was her occupation. The poet is probably just making use of the pastoral convention. Certainly the whole sonnet series is pervaded by a simplicity of style, close observation of nature and frequent use of pastoral images not present in any of the other seven. Surprisingly enough the rather ponderous Craig makes the transition successfully, and seems as happy tripping through leafy glades with Kala as in expounding complex relationships between love and Latin literature.

When he does resort to classical parallels, they either have a strongly pastoral bias or are explained in minute detail as though to an audience completely unversed in such matters. His constancy may be compared to that of the Persian kings, but it is their refusal to drink from any river other than the Choaspe which forms the kernel of the parallel. Kala may not understand anything about Persian history, but the idea of drinking from rivers would scarcely be foreign to her. Indeed Craig's primary aim in this sequence seems to be simplification. When explaining their gradual separation in terms of Celuis' gout or the eternal feud between Polinices and Eteocles, he explains each legend to Kala as clearly and with as much detail as possible. He seems conscious of the clumsiness of excessive learning, just as Ronsard was. Simpler metaphors and illustrations like that of the lady surgeon and the fawning dog are both commoner and more in keeping with the general tone of the sequence.

But there are reasons for believing the Kala sonnets to be based on a real affair. The sequence for example is too full of particular references to be merely the account of an imaginative relationship. In 'I first receiud since did sweet Sainct unfold' he does not only tell us that he received a letter from his love but adds the detail of an enclosed symbol which he kisses three times a day:

> When I euolu'd from out the Paper whit,
> That Symboll sweete transparent pure & plaine,
> Wherein some time thou tooke so much delight:
> Yea thrise each day (faire Mistris) till we meet,
> I kis thy Symboll, and thy golden sheet.[1]

When she fails to reply to his own missive, he states exactly the intervening time - three months - and throughout refers to events of such a personal nature, that one has either to credit him with an excellent theoretical insight into the more intimate aspects of love or presume that Kala was a real person. Moreover the love is not a platonic affection of the type harboured for Idea or Erantina. It is physical rather than mental, pastoral rather than philosophical:

> I sweare by all our secret vow's each one,
> Made in the darke, and reconfirmd by day:
> By all our kisses when we were allone,
> And all the wishes when I went away.[2]

Although he writes love poetry to eight different women, Craig is too concerned with classical conceits to impress the reader as a passionate man or poet. Yet in the Kala sequence we feel a note of true love, piercing through the thick webs of classical myth

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1. Ibid., Kala, p. 98.

2. Ibid., Kala, p. 99.

and platonic theorizing. Only in her company does the poet forget himself enough to compose for her as well as about her. The result, despite a loss of metaphysical complexity, is the only group of 'songes' which today would merit the adjective 'amorose'.

The gradual weakening of Craig's love begins with his disappointment over her failure to reply to his letter:

> But when my hopes proue naught with sory mind,
> I sigh & say unkind, unkind, unkind.[1]

Soon he finds his affection poisoned by jealousy, although he still puts trust in her virtue and feigns to blame his own "bastard thoughts". At this point his reactions are very close to those exhibited by Shakespeare, when he discovered that the friend and the dark lady were proving unfaithful to him. Like Shakespeare, Craig strives to retain belief in the old ideals of love:

> Thinke (comely Kala) with what kind embrace
> Wee shew the secrets of our sigh-swolne soule,
> How strict a bond we ty'd in litle space:
> Which none but heau'ns haue credit to controule.[2]

Like Shakespeare he looks back and discovers both levity and furtiveness in their earlier relationship. These qualities, dormant before have now brought about an estrangement:

> How many broyls betwixt us two haue beene,
> Which I oft times of purpose would deuise,
> That in that fort our loue should scape unseene,
> And undeuulged in a dark disguise?
> But fayth that custome hath deceiu'd mee so,
> That in effect I am thy fremcast foe.[3]

Like Shakespeare he condems her for hiding rottenness under a fair

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1. Ibid., Kala, p. 100.

2. Ibid., Kala, p. 115.

3. Ibid., Kala, p. 118.

exterior, and bids her a "wrathfull farewell". It is one of the great ironies of 'The Amorose Songes' that the most passionate sequence ends on a rather sour note. It seems to have been another case of "violent delights having violent ends".

The Kala sequence is still one of the most appealing in all Scottish sonneteering. It allows Craig to show his finest qualities of dramatisation and simplicity of narrative at their best. The need to explain his classical allusions to Kala guards against complexity without losing aptness, while the introduction of pastoral imagery betrays an interest in Nature, which may come as a surprise to one accustomed to Craig's less subtle displays of classical knowledge. It provides yet another angle on love, depicting a real but imperfect passion, intense at the outset and still intense when all is over, but the memory of "many lovely iarres". The platonism and affected compliments of the Erantina group give way to simplicity and a real physical involvement. This minor sequence on its own is enough to bely those critics who dismiss Craig as a poetic pedant. When the occasion demands it he can display both tenderness and insight.

THE AMOROSE SONGES: LAIS

Sonnets to prostitutes and courtesans are proportionally more common in Scottish sonneteering than French, Italian or English. Craig is after all only following the example of Baldynneis and Montgomerie in making a whore the 'heroine' of his verse. He differs from his predecessors in two ways however. They composed only a handful, while Craig's fifteen sonnets to Lais constitute a minor sequence. Also they felt called upon to mirror the lowness of their theme via obscenity. Craig views his sexual infatuation

with regretful disdain. Like Shakespeare and the Dark Lady he does not know which to hate more, her for her infidelity or himself for moral impotence. Much of the dramatic interest in this sequence stems from his battle between an awareness of ethical standards and complete emotional committedness to one whose life makes a mockery of these standards.

There can be no doubt that Lais is a courtesan. She is named after two of the most famous of Corinthian strumpets.[1] The introductory letter states that he has "presumed to publish these my castrat Rimes under (o lascivious Lais) thy protection, that my chaster Verses may appeare lesse faulty",[2] and laments his weakness for cherishing a faithless woman. The opening sonnet which as usual sets forth in miniature the main tenets of the sequence, rejects the divine imagery of Idea, the Petrarchan imagery of Erantina and even Kala's pastoral imagery. It instead concentrates on words with monetary associations like "Rob" and "credit". Lais is a commodity to be bought and so, logically enough, the poet in S 2 becomes a merchant:

> Even as a ventering Merchant skant of skill,
> Whom Fortunes frowne or fate hath forc'd to fall
> To recompence his former losse hee will,
> Within one Ship and Vessell venter all.[3]

Craig in each of the four major sequences introduces one peculiar

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1. By naming Lais after the two most famous courtesans in Corinth, Craig condemned her without the necessity for critical verse. She clearly represents that lustful side to love, which is expunged from most Petrarchan sequences.

2. Ibid., Lais, Letter p. 17.

3. Ibid., Lais p. 44.

line of imagery and alters the stylistic level accordingly.[1] In 'Lais', metaphors of business and bartering are common and it is this association between Lais and a commercial proposition which first cheapens her in the reader's estimation.

Her faithlessness too is a major theme throughout. In the first sonnet Craig persuades others not to court her. His reasons however are not based on Petrarchan chastity but its antithesis. No credit could be gained from winning so loose a woman, while the poet's eternal enmity is also guaranteed:

> For put the case thou speed, thou gaines these two,
> A facill Dame, and of a friend a foe.[2]

Only in the fourth sonnet of the group ('Allace that absence hath such force to soyll') does he put any faith in her at all. The recalling of "manie soulesooke kisses" is reminiscent of the Kala sequence rather than Lais, but even here one senses heavy irony in his final reliance on her "vertuous mind". The veiled desperation in this sonnet is justified in the next, where he faces up to her infidelity:

> But breach of fayth now seemes no fault to thee,
> Old promises new periuries do proue.[3]

And the depths of disillusionment are plumbed in the final poem of this trilogy:

> But since thou still are false (I must confesse)
> Thy loue was lightlie won, and lost for lesse.[4]

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1. Craig is very well versed in stylistic levels. The high style is used for Idea; middle high for Erantina; middle for Kala and low for Lais.

2. Ibid., Lais p. 43.

3. Ibid., Lais p. 69.

4. Ibid., Lais p. 70.

In narrative terms the Lais sequence traces a man's sexual infatuation from a period when self-delusion was possible to the time when he must admit the worthlessness of his passion and its object. Craig is quite successful in drawing this picture of a man at war with himself although he never attains Shakespeare's involvement or self-detestation.

The 'Lais' sequence does not only tell a story. It also forces the poet to philosophise on love itself. The fact of infatuation cohabiting with hatred leads him to question the Petrarchan vision of love. Like Shakespeare he rejects the images favoured by the Italian as inadequate:

> I haue compard my Mistris many time
> To Angels, Sun, Moone, Stars, & things aboue:
> My Conscience then condem'd me of a crime,
> To things below when I conferd my Loue:
> But when I find her actions all are vane,
> I think my Rimes and Poyems all profane.[1]

And yet, as he discovers three sonnets later, ('Why loue I her that loues not mee againe?') the Petrarchan ideas of love's inconsistency and affection for the agent of destruction apply particularly well to his case. Craig is too honest and erudite a philosopher to be contented with facile solutions, (a factor which makes his theories of love more than usually interesting) but he does gain some comfort from the thought of fate working in cycles. In the sonnet 'To his Riuall and Lais' he foresees a time when the former will share his own misery. This movement of Fortune's wheel is as inevitable as Lais's own continued faithlessness:

> But fayth thou must come down there is no dout,
> And thou must be a partner of my paine,

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1. Ibid., Lais p. 77.

> The nixt must needs haue place his time about:
> Els fortunes wheele should whirle about no more
> Nor Lais faire be fals, as of before.[1]

The drama of the narrative, telling of Craig's growing disillusionment, leads to a further drama of ideas. The poet tries to adapt his definition of love to cover the existence of 'dark ladies' and male lust. He does not succeed, but more honest soul-searching is uncovered in these fifteen sonnets by the much-maligned 'Scottish pedant' than in the thousands of tepid Petrarchan imitations being mass-produced at this time.

Finally, the 'Lais' sequence is not only a narrative and a philosophy of love, it is above all a flyting. One should not however expect from Craig the usual vituperative, alliterative insults. He is at all times an original sonneteer and his flyting consists in the piling up of vile classical parallels at Lais. As a courtesan she is inevitably compared with Helen and Cressida, matching both of them for falsehood. This one might bave expected, but much more ingenuity is displayed when Craig illustrates her committedness to falsity, by citing the examples of Dionysius and Harpaste. Just as the Syracusan tyrant after deposition became a tyrannous schoolmaster, so Lais will be lecherous in all situations. Just as Harpaste, despite her protestations to the contrary, was blind outside as well as inside, so Lais' projected journey to join the poet would not make her anything other than faithless. Thus by means of continued parallels, Craig condemns the object of his infatuation. She is like Rhodope the Egyptian strumpet and compared to apes in animalism. Perhaps the most ingenious parallel

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1. Ibid., Lais p. 116.

of all however occurs in 'I haue compared my Mistris many time':

> To no thing now can I compare my Dame,
> But Theramenes shoo; the reason why,
> It seru'd each foote: and she can do the same:
> She hears the sutes of rich, poore, great & small,
> And has discretion to content us all.[1]

In no other sequence does Craig use classical parallels so frequently or to such effect. This is flyting by association rather than direct indictment. It is just as effective and less objectionable for squeamish modern tastes.

Lais represents the lowest step in Craig's moral staircase. Narrative, philosophical and flyting sonnets unite to depict the lowest elements of love - lust, infidelity and mistrust. Yet at times it is reminiscent of the Kala sequence, which shared the emphasis on physical love, faithlessness and jealousy. Indeed the four groups are cleverly graded, with each having something in common with the one immediately above in the scale. Erantina is Idea without the vivifying force of originality. Kala is Erantina deprived of her chastity and Lais is Kala without the original purity of an innocent, mutually reciprocated love. The situation has been somewhat simplified, but Craig is clearly not content to view love from a series of different angles. He also wants to point similarities between these apparently diverse passions. In achieving these aims he produces a sequence with the broadest frame of reference in all Scottish sonneteering, a sequence characterized by originality and learning, which has been ignored or grossly underestimated by previous critics.

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1. Ibid., Lais p. 77.

THE AMOROSE SONGES: CONVENTIONAL SEQUENCES

CYNTHIA: The remaining four sequences are of a more conventional type and were probably all directed at ladies of the court, for whom Craig had no real affection. Despite this, each sequence has a separate motivation and each lady is characterized by different qualities of personality. Cynthia for example is most frequently presented in terms of gravity. A creature of nobility and virtue, as the poet indicates in the introductory letter, her one fault is excessive seriousness:

> If thou wilt bind me still to be thine owne,
> Smile stil (faire Dame) if not, I pray thee frowne.

and

> Such is my state, if Castor-like thou smile,
> I onelie liue to serue and honour thee:
> But if thou frowne, allace allace the while,
> As at the sight of Gorgons head I die.[1]

Further reference to her "gloomings" and refusal to repay his verse with even one meagre smile combine to make this seriousness the leitmotiv of the sequence. It is almost as if Craig were making a 'humour' of the lady by concentrating on a single peculiarity of character.

Once again ingenious classical parallels typify this sonnet sequence. The shadowing forth of a gravity/gaiety opposition by setting Orion against Castor pales into insignificance when compared with the Hercules/Hylas conceit as used in 'It sometimes chanst, as stories tell by chance'. As Hylas died when fetching water for his master, so the poet's tears drowned themselves instead of sending water to quench the flames raging in his heart. The strife between

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1. Ibid., Cynthia p. 80; p. 74.

Ardeans and Aracins is also called in to illustrate Craig's situation. When the poet and Cynthia's maid were quarrelling over who ought to possess his heart, Cynthia stepped in to capture it from both of them. Similarly the Roman forces solved the land dispute by annexing both territories for themselves:

> Thou like these conquering Romans in this case
> By spoyling both, posseyds my heart in peace.[1]

The personal note struck by this last sonnet inevitably casts doubts on whether the Cynthia sequence is purely a piece of conventional poetic praise with no reference to actuality. It is a strange form of praise which congratulates a lady for capturing her maid's lover, while it must be admitted that of the four remaining 'mistresses', Cynthia is the only one who cannot be identified with a lady at court. No dogmatism is possible one way or the other, but I have grouped this series here on the following grounds: (1) Craig's love of complex classical conceits often leads him away from the truth. As will be seen, the Lythocardia and Penelope sequences include unpleasant suggestions, which seem to have been introduced only for the sake of displaying some piece of erudition; (2) The Cynthia sequence with its eight sonnets (only five of which have the regular fourteen line form) is the shortest in 'The Amorose Songes'. If there had been some real basis of affection, one would have expected a longer account, like that on Lais or Idea; (3) The 'humour' principle (see supra) applies to Cynthia, Lithocardia, Penelope and Pandora. As the last three can be proved to be wholly conventional in nature,

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1. Ibid., Cynthia p. 101.

analogy suggests that the first be similarly regarded. Whatever conclusion is reached however, this is one of the less noteworthy groups in the 'Songes' and Craig shows good critical insight in preventing it from becoming too lengthy.

PANDORA: The sonnets to Pandora are generally speaking of a higher standard. The anagram 'hais agene' contained in the ninth poem of the group suggests that it is inspired by Agnes Hay, later wife of James, 6th Earl of Glencairn.[1] Her family was friendly with one of Craig's poetic acquaintances, Robert Ayton, and the two almost certainly knew each other. The penultimate sonnet makes it at least certain that the lady concerned had the surname Hay, for after contemplating all the beauties of an imaginative garden, the poet concludes:

> Thus high and low I looked where I lay,
> Yet neither fruite nor flower was like my Hay.[2]

While Cynthia was viewed primarily in terms of gravity, Pandora's dominant qualities are chastity and tyranny, with the latter being partially implied by the former. The modesty of which Craig speaks in his letter is nowhere apparent in the body of the sequence. Lady Hay is sweet but also "flintie harted", afflicted with the "leprosy of loathsome cold disdaine" and given to "(slaying) her slave with all the wounds of woe". In 'Canst thou have eares, & wil not heare my plaint' he explains the full extent of her tyranny, mournfully concluding that his own death will soon follow,

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1. Agnes Hay was the Earl of Glencairn's second wife. She was the daughter of Sir James Hay of Kingask, and widow of Sir George Preston of Craigmillar.

2. Craig, Works, 'The Amorose Songes', Pandora, p. 114.

if conditions do not alter, and in 'Faire Sicil fertill first of Cruell Kings' admits that he only serves her on the rationnel of Hymera's obedience to Dionysius:

> And all saue old Hymera, wish'd him dead,
> Shee wish'd him weel, cause many tyrants sprong:
> And were hee gone, a worser would succeed.[1]

In this context it is scarcely surprising that two of the most successful poems consist of appeals for intermediaries to plead mercy on the poet's behalf:

> O watchfull Bird proclaymer of the day,
> .....
> Crow still for Mercie in my Mistris eares

and

> Go you o winds that blow from north to south,
> Convey my secret sighes unto my sweet.[2]

The introduction of 'cock' and 'winds' as messengers provides the second main point of the Pandora sequence. Although it contains a number of conventional themes - contrarieties of love, absence and the lost heart conceit - natural imagery is more common than in any other sequence except 'Kala'. Indeed at times Pandora is seen almost as a Nature goddess like Fowler's Bellisa, to whom the cock would be an ideal ambassador. The name Hay was probably responsible for the imagistic bias and certainly anagrammatic needs are responsible for the garden imagery of the second last sonnet. The same argument however does not apply to 'Each thing allace, presents and lets me see', where he contends that he can perceive his lady in the sun, the dawn, in night, all types of weather, fire

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1. Ibid., Pandora, p. 106.

2. Ibid., Pandora, p. 45; p. 46.

and thaw. She thus, like Bellisa, becomes not only the acme of Nature's creative powers, so beautiful as to captivate the gods (S 1), but also becomes at one with her creator, observable in all its manifestations. Thus, when Craig bids farewell it is not in a stilted address to Lady Hay, but in a charming pastoral sonnet, which might have escaped from the Kala group by mistake. Among 'foreign' shepherds in England, Craig thinks of her and promises that:

> till we meet, my rustick mats and I,
> Through woods & plains, Pandoras prayse shal cry.[1]

Despite this one feels it is duty rather than passion which motivates the group. It represents a poetic compliment to Lady Hay, developed in terms of her chastity and the rural associations connected with her name. Apart from this it is characterized only by a more sparing use of classical imagery than usual and less complexity of argument.

PENELOPE: These sonnets are all addressed to Lady Penelope Rich, daughter of the 1st Earl of Essex, and the 'Stella' in Sidney's sonnet sequence.[2] She married Rich, who was coarse and uneducated, in 1581. The alliance was most unhappy, with the result that she became Lord Mountjoy's mistress before 1595. Abandoned by her husband she lived in open adultery till her death in 1605. She was one of the most popular of sonnet heroines also being lauded by Constable and Barnfield. Craig hints at her identity by using her

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1. Ibid., Pandora, p. 142.

2. Lady Rich was especially favoured by James VI, who strongly supported the cause of her brother, executed by Elizabeth. After her marriage to Lord Mountjoy however, he banned her from court. She died in 1605.

first name 'Penelope' to head the sequence and by punning frequently on her surname:

> If curious heades to know her name do craue,
> Shee is a Lady Rich, it needes no more,

and

> Thinkst thou faire dame, to buy my loue with gaine
> Cause thou art rich, I pray thee thinke not so.[1]

The second quotation illustrates the point made about the Cynthia sequence, that often Craig will sacrifice the truth for the sake of a clever poetic conceit. Just as he invented the 'eternal triangle' for Cynthia, to introduce his parallel with Ardeans and Aracins, so he suggests that Lady Rich pays him for his love, in order to pun on her name.

Penelope's wealth is the leitmotiv of this sequence. She is accused of buying his love "with gaine" and of rewarding his verse with money instead of love. Despite his pleas for affection however, most of the Penelope sonnets place more emphasis on learned parallels than on love itself. Especially popular in this respect is the circle round Ulysses. Like Ulysses' followers he has forgotten everything, but the cause is Penelope, not the lotus tree. When Ulysses gained Achilles' weapons at the Trojan siege, the shield was swept away to rest on the grave of his rival, Ajax. Similarly, when the poet dies, her tears will water his grave and proclaim that he should have been hers, just as Achilles' armour should have been given to Ajax. Finally, as Ulysses came through many storms, only to die at the hand of his son Telegonus, so Craig suffered many miseries, yet finally perished through his beloved

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1. Craig, Works, 'The Amorose Songes', Penelope, p. 38; p. 39.

Penelope:

> Though I haue past as many storm's as hee,
> The last is worst, and for thy loue I die.[1]

As a result this series is given a double unity, based on the lady's dominant characteristic and on the Ulysses legend. Although it contains only nine sonnets, many of these are among the finest in the Songes.

LITHOCARDIA: The two anagrammatic sonnets in this series indicate that it celebrates a Mary Douglas ("as Marigould"). The reference in all probability is to one of 'the pearls of Lochleven', who became the second wife of Lord Ogilvy of Deskford in 1582.[2] She is characterized in the introductory letter as a woman of some wisdom, and one remains aware of this prevailing quality throughout the poems. The 'humour' approach however, though evident, is pursued in a different way from the other three. After the letter little comment is made about Lithocardia's personality, but the group as a whole is clearly designed to please one of some learning, the mistress of a "bibliothek".

The sequence opens with two sonnets explaining the poet's love in mythological terms. They follow immediately after the opening Idea myth and tell in turn of the poet's harbouring the fugitive Cupid in his heart while Venus searches in vain and of Cupid's inability to set the sea on fire because his flames have been left in Lythocardia's eyes. This use of myth and the placing of the

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1. Ibid., Penelope, p. 120.

2. Mary Douglas was the third daughter of William, Earl of Morton. She and her six sisters were renowned for their beauty and so called the pearls of Lochleven.

sonnets suggest a parallel with Idea, and by implication set Lithocardia's tastes on a par with those of the divine Idea. Certainly, Craig has a very high opinion of her intellect, for he then proceeds to test it with anagrams and a poetic version of the theory of elements:

> A very World may well be seene in mee,
> My hot desires as flames of Fire do shine,
> My sighes are ayre, my teares the Ocean sea
> My steadfast fayth, the solid Earth ....[1]

The classical allusions too are derived from uncommon sources. The lady is expected to be au fait with the story of Menelaus and Musidorus, of Euarchus sentencing his own son Pirocles to death, of Amphiarus' vengeance on his treacherous wife Eriphile and of Alexander's command that in time of war all his soldiers should be clean shaven. It does seem that Craig has intentionally sought out unusual parallels to please a lady of some wisdom.

In a way this is a very appropriate note on which to end a study of The Amorose Songes, for they are above all a learned sequence. Knowledge however does not necessarily imply lack of feeling nor the odd moment of pedantry deprive a poet of genius. Craig's sonneteering series is by no means perfect. At times his metres are crude, his rhymes strained and his themes ponderously erudite. But he does succeed in showing us love in all its forms, from the perfection of Idea to the worthlessness of Lais, via Erantina's Petrarchan virtues and Kala's rustic charm. He does differentiate the ladies celebrated in less passionate sequences until all four could be summed up in a 'pius Achates' formula, as

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1. Craig, Works, 'The Amorose Songes', Lithocardia, p. 48.

'grave Cynthia', 'virtuous Pandora', 'wealthy Penelope' or 'learned Lithocardia'. To this variety of vision he adds an ingenious linking of classical lore to the situations of love, close observation of nature and deep insight into the contradictory elements in man's nature which make him capable of worshipping whore and angel at once. The Amorose Songes are certainly the most original love sequence in the Scottish Sonnet.

OTHER THEMES

Craig, being the most original of all the Scottish sonneteers, touches on the main European themes less regularly than the others. The various theories of the soul, of cosmology and astrology are almost entirely ignored, while the elements are only fully discussed in the above-quoted sonnet to Lithocardia. Ficinian conceits do occur although less frequently than in either Aurora or Tarantula. The lost heart argument is restated in 'Deare to my soule, and wilt thou needs be gone', while storm imagery appears in 'Even as a ventering Merchant skant of skill' and 'Even as a man by darke that goes astray'. But generally Craig prefers to work out his own conceits. The Telesian view of Nature as a conflict between opposites is expounded in the final sonnet to Kala:

> The whitest Silver drawes the blackest skore,
> In greenest Grasse the deadly Adder lowrs,[1]

but usually Craig prefers to approach Nature from a pastoral rather than a philosophical angle. The frequent comparisons between James and the sun in the dedicatory sonnets however, betray a knowledge of the system of correspondences and it is probably fair to

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1. Ibid., Kala, p. 119.

say that Craig was aware of most of the European themes, but disdained to use them because of his preference for mythology and legend.

Even Fortune is less prevalent in this series, although it does appear as a theme in the following sonnets:

> Twixt Fortune, Loue, and most unhappie mee (Kala)
> I sweare (sweet Kala) by my flames, thy eyes (Kala)
> Disordered Haires the types of my disgrace (Erantina)
> Last yeare I drew (faire Dame) by verychance (Idea)
> When silent night had spred her pitchie vaile (Kala)
> As thou art now, so was I once in grace (Lais)[1]

This list is not exhaustive, but it does cover those poems in the Songes which deal with Fortune at any length. None of the ladies is thus seen as fate goddesses, like Bellisa, Aurora or even Caelia. Indeed the only one of the main European themes employed frequently by Craig is that of mythology and that is so closely tied up with his reading in classical literature that it must be discussed under 'Influences'.

Craig however does compose a large number of sonnets to James and friends. In so doing he continues the interest in occasional poetry which, once dominant, had now become the undertone in Scottish sonneteering. Fowler had composed three excellent sonnets to the king and a handful of friends, over and above the Tarantula. Alexander viewed James as an oracle in 'When Britain's Monarch, in true Greatness great', and celebrated in sonnet form his brother poets, Drayton, William Drummond and John Murray. The last-named also won sonneteering praise from his cousin David, as did Drummond, but not surprisingly Murray's 'royal' verse preferred the Prince of Wales to his father. The one exception is an isolated sonnet composed in

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1. Ibid., pp. 66, 99, 103, 112, 115, 116.

1615, in which James is conceived as a Phoenix arising from the ashes of the biblical David, who shared his talents for just government and fine poetry. In stressing the movement towards love, these occasional sonnets must not be overlooked. They formed the major portion of Scottish sonneteering in the early Castalian period. As Craig wrote eighteen sonnets which can be classified as 'occasional', they may be studied as a group and compared with the earlier efforts of James, Baldynneis and Montgomerie.

Seen in this fashion, they point four main differences in attitude. First of all, despite a fair percentage of conventional eulogies, the occasional note of criticism is entering into assessments of James. Craig for example is particularly concerned with his harsh treatment of Anne, from whom he was not wholly estranged. In one particularly appealing sonnet he pleads in Anne's own voice against the king's injustice:

> Where habit was, dwels sad Priuation now,
> And I am made an Orphane from delight:
> To want the sweete fruition of thy sight,
> In balefull bed my body when I bow .....[1]

The ecstatic praises of King James die away in this period, as disappointment with his reign increases. Also fewer poets comment on his worth as a poet, because cares of government had by then almost dried up his muse. Only on one occasion does Craig refer directly to his literary prowess, and even then he looks back to the earliest work of all:

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1. Ibid., 'The most vertuous and accomplished Prince Anna, Queene of Britane, Fraunce and Ireland; Complaineth the absence of her Lord and Spous Iames, King of the foresayd Realmes', in 'Poeticall Essayes', p. 17.

> To use thee sweet inchanting Poets vaine,
> You gaue mee Reuls, I giue you Ryms againe.[1]

The occasional verse of this period makes it quite clear that James is no longer regarded as the head of the group although his unique critical work is still held in high esteem.

On the other hand, if faith in the king's poetry has died, a more optimistic view of Scottish verse in general is prevalent. There is no sonnet corresponding to Montgomerie's 'lament for the makars' and although Craig contributes only one sonnet to a fellow Scots poet in the person of Ayton, his admiration for that author is evident:

> Sing swift hoof'd Aethon to thy matchles selfe,
> And be not silent in this pleasant spring:
> I am thy Echo, and thy Aerie elf,
> The latter strains of thy sweet tunes I'll sing.[2]

When this is set beside Alexander's ecstatic praises of Drummond or Murray's faith in his poetic cousins, it becomes clear that despite the condemnation of later critics, the poets of the early seventeenth century regarded their contribution pretty highly. They seem to have reformed themselves into a group under Alexander and there is little of the self-criticism which characterized the earlier circle round James.

The other new theme which is especially noticeable in Craig's occasional verse is that of the Union and its results. Ostensibly his reaction is favourable. James like Scilurus has learned the lesson of unity's strength, and in joining Scotland to England has

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1. Ibid., 'To the Kings most Royall Maiestie', in 'Poeticall Essayes', p. 43.

2. Ibid., 'The Poetical Recreations', p. 15.

re-enacted the story of the darts:

> A bundle of Darts before their eyes he layes,
> And pray'd each Sonne to break the same: at length,
> When hee and hee to crush those Darts assayes,
> But all in vaine; hee told them Unions strength.[1]

This enthusiasm is on the other hand general and theoretical. The sonnet was written shortly after Craig's arrival in London. Later events were to make him change his mind. He was to call England, 'this Abydos where I duyne and die' and to find great difficulty in adapting himself to the customs of a land which he always held to be foreign. In a sonnet to Lord Ramsay he complains of a "miriad of mis-fortunes" which have descended on him since entering England, while 'Ad Eundem de Eodem' merely extends this doleful theme:

> And to this land spoild of my heart I came
> To follow Fortune, which I can not find.[2]

The conclusion of his English adventure was a return to Scotland, where his talents for poetry appear to have died for lack of fostering. One may however suppose with little presumption that his unfortunate experiences were shared by many fellow countrymen about this period.

Decrease in popularity is therefore not the only difference in the occasional poetry of this period. Eulogies on James grow less enthusiastic and concentrate on his kingly rather than poetic function. Faith in Scottish verse generally is on the upsurge, with Alexander threatening to become the new leader of the Castalian

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1. Ibid., 'Poeticall Essayes', 'Sonet to his Maiestie of the Union of the two famous Realmes Scotland and England', p. 25.

2. Ibid., 'Poetical Recreations', p. 9.

band. The conventional classical topoi (humility formulae etc.) still continue, but pension poetry has almost faded out, consequent on the concentration of Scottish poetic talent among the nobility, while new situations like that of the Union, inevitably introduce new themes.

INFLUENCES

In Craig's verse Scottish and French influences reach their nadir. Like Murray he borrowed conceits from Alexander, but with little regularity. 'Since Jove him selfe was subiect unto Loue' may have been suggested by AUR 89 although they are differently motivated. Alexander cites examples of goddesses who loved men in order to encourage Aurora's affection, while Craig cites examples of gods smitten by passion to excuse his own slavery to Pandora. They nevertheless share the man-goddess problem and the listing of mythological alliances to solve it. A more probable parallel is that between Craig's 'A very World may well be seene in mee' and AUR 38, which concludes:

> And thus within my selfe I create so,
> A world with all the Elements of wo.[1]

Both poets compare the symptoms of their love (sighs, tears, etc.) to aspects of nature (air, water, etc.). Although this is a reasonably common European theme it seems likely that Craig was influenced by Alexander's earlier version.

But on the whole, the Northern poet was either not enamoured with Scottish poetry at court, or valued his independence too highly to imitate it. He may have got the idea of calling one of

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1. Alexander, Works, II, Aurora 38, p. 477.

his mistresses 'Pandora' from AUR 60, but in view of his extensive classical knowledge, a direct influence from Hesiod is just as likely. The same argument applies to his sonnet on the lotos-eaters, 'When stately Troy by subtill Sinon's guile'. It may have been suggested by Fowler's sonnet on that theme, 'As charming Circe did Ulisses stay', but even if this were an intermediary influence, the main source would still be Book 9 of the Odyssey. Even the memorable sonnet to Kala, 'Twixt Fortune, Loue, and most unhappie mee' probably derives directly from the Italian of Petrarch's 'Amor, Fortuna, la mia mente schiava', rather than TAR 16, which introduces an additional figure into the allegory. Nature appears in neither Craig nor Petrarch. It does play an important part in Fowler's adaptation. The evidence thus suggests that Craig by-passed his fellow-Scot's poem, preferring to build his own version on the original.

Craig was never accepted into the poetic group at the London court. His stay in the city was short, James's favour short-lived and his origins viewed with amused condescension. His failure to borrow wholeheartedly from the other Scottish sonneteers is therefore not very surprising. He was however a man of good education and one might have expected frequent translations from Ronsard or Du Bellay. His classical preferences prevented this, so that the Amorose Songes do not claim uniqueness as the only Scottish sonnet sequence owing extensive debts to the French. Admittedly his outlook on love has as much in common with Ronsard's:

> Je ne suis seulement amoureus de Marie,
> Janne me tient aussy dans les liens d'Amour[1]

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres, VII, 127.

as with Petrarch's determined celibacy, but actual imitations are few.

An exception is 'If Castor shine, the Seamen hoyseth saile', for the conceit of likening the poet's joy to Castor, his misery to Orion, had already been put forward, slightly altered, in Amours 97:

> Ainsi tes yeulx pour causer mon renaistre,
> Et puis ma mort, sans cesse me font estre
> Ore un Pollux, et ores un Castor.[1]

The tale of the Argonauts, used by Craig in 'It sometimes chanst, as stories tell by chance', was also a favourite Ronsardian illustration (see Continuation des Amours, No. 54) but the latter never made use of the story of Hylas. Once again therefore the classical source seems to be the true one, although it is possible that Craig got his first ideas from Ronsard, before choosing less known incidents from the wealth of his reading in Latin and Greek.

Even Desportes, the treasure hoard for all sonneteering plunderers did not suffer much pillaging from Craig. Indeed the only sonnet in The Amorose Songes which seems to have originated from that source is 'The Tyrant Nero houering to behold'. The theme of the lady's cruelty, surpassing even Nero's, had previously been expounded in Hippolyte No. 37:

> Néron, fusil de meurtre, et de flamme et de rage,
> Se rit de leurs regrets, cruel et furieux,
> Et chante en ragardant le feu victorieux,
> Laissant de sa rigueur à jamais tesmoignage.
> Celle, qui de mon coeur tient le gouvernement,
> Fait ainsi l'inhumaine en mon embrasement:
> Elle rit de mes pleurs, mon malheur est sa gloire.

Craig similarly envisaged the emperor's behaviour:

> (He) smild to see them smart before his eyne:
> But had that man, that monstruous man yet beene
> Reseru'd onlife by fatall Nimphs till now,

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1. Ronsard, Oeuvres, IV, 97.

To view these flames which may in me be seene,
He would bewaile my poore estate I trow.[1]

Yet despite the closeness of these two arguments, there is still the possibility that Craig had derived the conceit straight from Latin history and was unaware of Desportes' version. Indeed notwithstanding further general parallels like that between Cléonice No. 12, 'O journée inconstante, heureuse et malheureuse' and the first sonnet of disillusionment to Lais 'How oft hast thou with Siuet smelling breath', Craig's debts to French sonneteering are so vague, that the possibility of his complete ignorance of Pléiade poetry remains open.

It seems likely however that he had read the more popular authors like Ronsard and Desportes, and that their influence unconsciously played some small part in moulding The Amorose Songes. Yet, when the extensive French element in Montgomerie's verse is compared with this paltry contribution, the full import of the anti-French revolution in this period of Scottish sonneteering reveals itself.

The Italian influence which usually replaced French as the main source is not so pervasive as might have been expected. The minor Italian sonneteers for example are almost entirely ignored. Although 'Faine would I goe, and faine would I abide' is a version of Serafino's famous stolen-kiss strambitto, Craig could have derived his version from any of a large number of English imitations. On the other hand, his fourth sonnet to Pandora with its plea for the wind to convey his sighs to the lady, is strongly reminiscent of

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1. Desportes, Hippolyte, p. 82 and Craig, Works, Erantina, p. 58.

Tasso, Rime No. 21:

> Aura ch'or quinci intorno scherzi e vole
> .....
> ... nel tuo molle sen questi sospiri
> Porta e queste querele alte amorose
> La've gia prima i miei pensier n'andaro (Tasso)
>
> Go you o winds that blow from north to south,
> Conuey my secret sighes unto my sweet:
> Deliuer them from mine, unto her mouth,
> And make my commendations till we meet. (Craig)[1]

As usual however, it is Petrarch who is the main treasury for conceits and themes. Mention has already been made of 'Twixt Fortune, Loue, and most unhappie mee', with its theme of the 'fatall threesome Reele', drawn from Petrarch's 'Amor, Fortuna e la mia mente schiava', but there are further debts. The sonnet to Erantina in absence, 'Even as a man by darke that goes astray' contains the Petrarchan images of lover as sailor, jailer and worshipper. Most interesting of all, it introduces the comparison with a 'Pilgrim erring from the way', as suggested by Rime No. 16:

> Movesi il vecchierel canuto e bianco,[2]
> Del dolce loco ov'a sua eta fornita.

This last example of course was drawn from the one sequence (Erantina) which was consciously modelled on Petrarchan tradition. Elsewhere Petrarchan parallels are seldom to be found. Of the exceptions, the following pairs may be noted:

(1) 'Pandora', 'Each thing allace, presents and lets me see' and Petrarch Rime, No. 116, 'Pien di quella ineffabile dolcezza'. In each the poet can see only Laura, wherever he may be situated.

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1. Torquato Tasso, Poesie, ed. Francesco Flora (Milano, Napoli, 1956), p. 698, and Craig, Works, Pandora p. 46.

2. Petrarch, Rime, p. 18.

(2) 'Kala', 'Blind loue (allace) and Ielousie undoo' and Petrarch Rime No. 182, 'Amor, che'ncende il cor d'ardente zelo'. How the poet's alternating between love and jealousy destroys the perfection of their relationship.

(3) 'Pandora', 'Deare to my soule, and wilt thou needs be gone' and Petrarch Rime No. 242 'Mira quel colle, o stanco mio cor vago'. (Lost heart conceit.)

Despite these examples, The Amorose Songes do mark the first weakening of Petrarchan dominance over the Scottish sonnet. Craig, like Shakespeare wrote a sequence which, while not denying the validity of Petrarchan experience, put it in its proper perspective as one facet of love's many-sided portrait. It was Shakespeare who told the English that all ladies were not worthy of the praise levelled at Laura:

> I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
> That music hath a far more pleasing sound.
> I grant I never saw a goddess go;
> My mistress when she walks treads on the ground.
> And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
> As any she belied with false compare.

But it was Craig who taught the same lesson to the Scots:

> I have compard my Mistris many time
> To Angels, Sun, Moone, Stars, & things aboue:
> My Conscience then condem'd me of a crime,
> To things below when I conferd my Loue:
> But when I find her actions all are wane,
> I think my Rimes and Poyems all profane.[1]

It was Shakespeare who dared to unite the vision of perfect love (The Youth) with the reality of impotent infatuation (Dark Lady). And it was Craig alone who dared to imitate him in the portraits of Idea and Lais. The latter is indeed the dark lady of The Amorose Songes, although the problem of love overcoming morality is also

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1. William Shakespeare, The Sonnets, ed. W. Burto (Signet Classics, 1964), p. 170, and Craig, Works, Kala p. 77.

poignantly expressed in a sonnet to Kala:

> Yet were I dam'd without redres to die,
> I can not cease from serving thee faire Dame.[1]

Shakespeare and Craig are the sonneteers who brought realism back to the love sonnet, who freed poetry from the Petrarchan death-grip. They give us a wider view of love, one which at once accepts the passion's refining and degenerating qualities, one which delights as much in creating a Lais as an Idea, one which can appreciate both the beauty of imagined perfection and the extent to which actuality can mock these pleasurable imaginings. They are in fact the first sonneteers to point away from Petrarch and Spenser to the tortured love experiences of Donne. Thus, although in terms of particular borrowings, Craig owes more to Sidney or Spenser himself than Shakespeare, his general outlook on love and his position as a herald of metaphysical poetry, inevitably link him with the playwright. He is in a sense the Shakespeare of the Scottish sonnet as much as Fowler is its Sidney and Alexander its Spenser. This is particularly so, if my own interpretation of Shakespeare's sequence is accepted. The Sonnets seem to be divided into groups, each one falling further away from the ideal of love than that preceding it. The early poems define love as marriage and propagation, but this is rejected for art. Sonnets 20-32 then present a typically artistic or Petrarchan sequence, all of them being based on Italian originals. There follow in turn human weakness, jealousy and age before the nadir is reached in the Dark Lady sequence. The first group is thus on a parallel with Idea, the Petrarchan group

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1. Craig, Works, Kala p. 83.

with Erantina, the period of weakness and jealousy with Kela and the Dark Lady sonnets with Lais. Shakespeare may use a man and a woman as dramatis personae, while Craig uses eight mistresses, but the principle of descending a moral staircase remains constant. And after Craig, as after Shakespeare, the sonnet can no longer return to its accustomed paths. It must adapt itself to the new movements in literature, as best it can.

On the other hand, Spenser and Daniel also influence The Amorose Songes. Delia No. 7, which considers the effect which an alternation in the lady's beauty would have on the poet's situation, was probably the source for the Cynthia sonnet, 'Hadst thou been blacke, or yet had I been blind':

> O had she not beene fair, and thus unkinde,
> Then had no finger pointed at my lightnes:
> The world had never knowne what I doe finde,
> And Clowdes obscure had shaded still her brightnes.
>
> (Daniel)

> Hadst thou been blacke, or yet had I been blind,
> My muse had slept, & none had known my mind
> Or yet couldst thou as thou art faire, be kind,
> I had not thus with sighs increast the wind.
>
> (Craig)[1]

Spenser's contribution is greater. The idea of introducing the legend of Arion and the dolphin into 'O what a world I suffer of extreames' may have been suggested by the lines of Amoretti No. 38:

> Arion, when through tempests cruel wracke,
> He forth was thrown into the greedy seas:
> Through the sweet musick which his harp did make
> Allu'rd a Dolphin him from death to ease,[2]

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1. Daniel, Poems, p. 14 and Craig, Works, Cynthia p. 57.

2. Spenser, Poems, p. 568.

or the Atlanta story of 'This Apill round I send, o matchles fare!' have been occasioned by Amoretti No. 77, which contains the same tale. In these cases, direct Classical influence is equally probable. But there can be little doubt that the opening couplet of the sonnet to Erantina:

> Even as a man by darke that goes astray,
> Would faine behold and looke unto the light

was suggested by the opening to Amoretti No. 88:

> Since I have lackt the comfort of that light,
> The which was wont to lead my thoughts astray:
> I wander as in darkenesse of the night ...[1]

The debts to both Daniel and Spenser are small, but there is enough to ascertain that Craig had read both Amoretti and Delia. While Petrarchan influence dwindles in The Amorose Songes, English sonneteers retain that popularity they had enjoyed in Tarantula and Aurora.

And it is Sidney who is the most prevalent of all the foreign voices in Craig's sequence. The Penelope series had of course been dedicated to the 'Stella' of Astrophil and Stella, Lady Rich, but time and again actual phrases or images, originated by Sidney, recur in the Scottish collection. The English poet in Astrophil No. 1 had complained of "my sunburned braine", while in 'Faire dame, for whom my mornfull muse hath worne', Craig lamented "my parched Sunburned braine". The phrase "slave-borne Muscovite" of Astrophil No. 2 reappears unaltered in l. 6 of '0 Beautie doomb astonish'd Maruels chyld', while the openings of Astrophil No. 59 and the seventh sonnet to Cynthia are almost identical.

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1. Craig, Works, Erantina, p. 61 and Spenser, Poems, p. 577.

> Dear! why make you more of a dog than me? ...
> Bidden perhaps, he fetcheth thee a glove. (Sidney)
>
> Why loues thou more (faire dame) the Dog then mee? ....
> Hee can perhaps bring thee thy Gloue ... (Craig)[1]

Throughout The Amorose Songes parallels with Astrophil and Stella obtrude upon the reader. The puns on Lady Rich's name remind one of the similar pun in Astrophil No. 37; the invocation to the cock to waken all but the poet, in 'O watchfull Bird, proclaymer of the day' clearly originated from Astrophil No. 99; the frequent diatribes against Cynthia's frowning are couched in similar phraseology to that employed by Sidney in Astrophil No. 86.

Even when Astrophil and Stella has exhausted its influence, there is still the Arcadia to be considered. The story of Euarchus and Pirocles as narrated in Book 2 recurs in 'Good cause hadst thou Euarchus to repent', while the reference to Miso's nose in the last line of 'I sweare (sweet Kala) by my flames, thy eyes', recalls Chapter 14 of the same book. When describing the shrewish, interfering wife of the clown Dametas, Sidney had emphasised that part of her anatomy:

> The ladies laughed to see with what an eager earnestness she looked, having threatening not only in her ferret eyes, but while she spoke, her nose seeming to threaten her chin, and her shaking limbs one to threaten another.[2]

Craig therefore means that in spite of the interference of busybodies, he will still love Kala. This is especially relevant in the case of Kala, who represented love for a lower class girl and

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1. Lee, Elizabethan Sonnets, I, 40 and Craig, Works, Cynthia p. 97.

2. Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. E. A. Baker (London, 1907), p. 196.

thus would attract more malicious gossip than usual from the Misos of this world. The fullest of Craig's poetic adaptations from the Arcadia however is contained in the fifth sonnet to Pandora, 'In Arcadie sometime (as Sydne say's)'. The story of Demagoras' love for Parthenia and his infecting her with leprosy is taken from Arcadia Book 1 Chapter 5:

> Demagoras, I say, desiring to speak with her, with unmerciful force (her weak arms in vain resisting) rubbed all over her face a most horrible poison: the effect whereof was such, that never leper looked more ugly then she did.[1]

Further, in 'The saikles soule Philoxenes was slaine', a fourth legend is borrowed from the Arcadia, that of Philoxenes' dog fawning on his master's murderer Amphialus. Craig narrates the story as in Arcadia Book 1, Chapter 11, only increasing the latter's malice against the dog to provide a better parallel for Pandora's hatred of the poet.

Sidney is the only non-classical source for anecdotes, which Craig uses with any regularity. Those who condemn him as a pedant should remember that the borrowings from Herodotus and Hyginus are coupled with a love for the colloquialisms of Astrophil and Stella and the romantic narrative of the Arcadia.

It will now be obvious that English influence on the Amorose Songes is quite extensive. Indeed the longer James remained in London, the more anglified Scottish sonneteering became. Even the Aberdeenshire immigrant was affected by this tendency, although his borrowings are never servile. He transforms the legends taken from Sidney just as completely as those plundered from Latin or

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1. Ibid., p. 24.

Greek. They are never used for their own sake but to illustrate Craig's various amatory experiences. It is by combining originality of thought and aptness of illustration that Craig achieves his effectiveness as a sonneteer. For the latter he is indebted to his reading of Sidney, Petrarch and the Classicists, but for the former to Craig alone. The lengthy list of major English sources that follows then, does not imply excessive plagiarism, but intelligent use of extensive reading.

CRAIG

Poeticall Essayes

page 7 - Constable 'To Sir Philip Sidney's Soul' (Poet mourns after everyone else has ceased.)
page 27 - Spenser Amoretti No. 77 (Atlanta legend)

Amorose Songes

page 25 - Greville, Sonnet 44 (Saturn and the golden age)
page 32 - Daniel, Delia 35 (His Lady compared to Laura)
page 38 - Sidney, A & S 38 (Pun on Lady Rich's name)
page 45 - Sidney, A & S 99 (Cock crowing conceit)
page 47 - Sidney, Arcadia Bk. 1 Chap. 5 (Demagoras and Parthenia)
page 55 - Spenser Amoretti 84 (Love/lust contrast)
page 57 - Daniel Delia 6 (If she had not been fair etc.)
page 61 - Spenser Amoretti 88 (Deprived of lady's light)
page 62 - Spenser Amoretti 10 (Lady laughs at his grief)
page 63 - Sidney A & S 1 ('sunburned braine')
page 67 - Sidney Arcadia Bk. 2 (Euarchus and Pirocles)
page 65 - Sidney Arcadia Bk. 1 Chap. 11 (Amphialus and Philoxenes)
page 74 - Spenser Amoretti 7 and Sidney A & S 86 (Lady's frowns and smiles)
page 77 - Shakespeare Sonnet 130 (Unaptness of Petrarchan compliments)
page 87 - Sidney A & S 87 ('slave-borne Muscovite')
page 97 - Sidney A & S 59 (Lady loves dog more than poet)
page 99 - Sidney Arcadia Bk. 2 Chap. 14 (Miso's Nose)
page 105 - Spenser Amoretti 38 (Arion and the Dolphin)

It is however the introduction of Latin and Greek parallels which sets Craig apart from the other Scottish sonneteers. Not that Fowler and Alexander were ignorant of these languages. The

latter occasionally echoed both Horace and Ovid in his sonnets. Lines 11 and 12 of AUR 40 for example:

> But ah, I suffer many greater paines,
> Then the Sicilian tyrants could invent

are based on Horace, Epistles i, 2, 58-59:

> Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
> Maius tormentum,[1]

while Kastner points out debts to Ovid in AUR 53, 54 and 58. The 22nd sonnet in the Tarantula may also have a Latin origin. Certainly it resembles very closely the following passage from Statius' address to sleep in Silvae V, 4:

> Crimine quo merui, iuvenis placidissime divum,
> Quove errore miser, donis ut solus egerem,
> Somne, tuis? et.seq.[2]

Generally however, vernacular poets avoided the classics for the reasons set down in critical treatises like the Reulis and Cautelis. Most Scottish poetry of the day was written in Latin and it was a feeble type of rebellion away from this norm to translate Latin into Scots.

Craig proved the exception to this rule. The width of his borrowings prove without any doubt that he was a classical scholar. But even he had his favourites. Of these, Herodotus takes pride of place. His history provided Craig with excellent illustrations for his sonnets. Of his many borrowings, the story of Xerxes in the third poem to Penelope is one of the more obvious ones:

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 40, p. 478. Horace, Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1926), p. 266.

2. Statius, Silvae, Thebaid, ed. J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London, 1928), I, 328.

> The Persian King in danger to be dround,
> Ask'd if no helpe in humane hands did stand.
> The Skipper then cast in the Salt profound,
> Some Persians braue, and brought the King to land.
> Then Xerxes crowns the Skipper with his hand,
> Who saues the King deseru's (quoth he) a crowne:
> But he atonce to kill him gaue command,
> Die die, said he, who did my Persians drowne.[1]

This story appears as an alternative version in Herodotus' History, Book 8, Chapter 118, beginning "But there is another tale, which is this: .... No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians".[2] Similarly the legend which opens the first eighteen line sonnet to Kala:

> The Persian Kings all waters did abiure,
> Saue those which flow'd fro faire Choaspes flood,[3]

finds its authority in Herodotus Book 1 Chapter 188. The Greek writer recalls how King Cyrus set out against the Assyrians, including in his equipment, "water from the Choaspes, which flows past Susa". It "is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks".[4] Little domestic details and unusual anecdotes are the grist to Craig's mill, rather than important historic events. A typical incident to grip his imagination is that which forms the argument in one of his final sonnets to Pandora:

> When Scythian Lords long fro their lands had bein
> Their slaues usurp'd their absent Maisters place:
> Both wealth and wives they breok'd before their eine
> And did the same seuen yeares posses in peace:

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1. Craig, Works, Penelope, p. 54.
2. Herodotus, ed. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols. (London, 1924), IV, 121-2.
3. Craig, Works, Kala, p. 59.
4. Herodotus, op.cit., I, 235.

They turning home, and seeing such disgrace,
Fought with their seruants for their wealth and wiues
But by the men the maisters gat the chase,
And hardly scap'd with hazard of their liues.
Then they consult with neither swords nor glaues,
Nor open warres, to mak their foes to yeeld,
With whips and wands they bat their randring slaues
And by the change of weapons wan the feeld.[1]

The story here retold had occupied the first four chapters of the fourth book of Herodotus' History. There he explained how Darius on his return from war discovered that the Scythian women had intermarried with their slaves. The solution proposed is the same as in Craig's sonnet, "Let them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not abide our attack. This the Scythians heard, and acted thereon; and their enemies, amazed by what they saw, had no more thought of fighting, but fled".[2] By choosing vivid, unusual illustrations like this Craig gives his sonnets at once a sense of drama and a metaphysical aptness, lacking in all his Scottish contemporaries.

The historians are his favourite plundering grounds, with Livy and Plutarch fulfilling Herodotus' function ~~on the Latin side.~~ elsewhere. From the latter's Life of Gracchus he learned of Attalus's granting his crown to the people of Rome and used the story to open one of his sonnets to James:

Kind Attalus in Annals old wee reid,
Was King of Pergame by the Romans ayde,
Hee long time þrookt the same, but foraine feid,
Which made those noble Romans to be glad:

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1. Craig, Works, Pandora, p. 107.

2. Herodotus, op.cit., II, 203.

> And yet because hee had no heyrs, 'tis sayd
> Hee to those foresayd Romans did resigne,
> His Diadem and Crowne ....[1]

From the Life of Alexander he drew both the tale of the Gymnosophists as contained in the last sonnet to Queen Anne in the Poeticall Essayes and the account of Alexander's treatment of Porus as contained in a sonnet to Penelope:

> When Alexander did subdue and bring
> The coastly Iles of Inde to his Empire,
> He captiue tooke proud Porus Indian King,
> And bid him aske what most he did desire?
> Nought said brave Porus do I now require,
> But that thou use me as a King should bee,
> Thou shalt have friendly hostage to thy hyre;
> And for my sake I graunt thy sute (said hee).[2]

Plutarch's version of the incident is so close as to render any other source most unlikely. "Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: "Like a king"; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: "All things are included in my 'like a king'". Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples, whom he subdued".[3]

Livy, like Plutarch and Herodotus is as much a gossip-monger and anecdote recounter as an historian. Not surprisingly therefore Craig uses his History as a source book as well. The tale of Colatine's boasting of Lucrece's beauty, the judgment and later rape as

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1. Craig, Works, 'Poeticall Essayes', 'To the King's most Royall Maiestie', p. 43.

2. Ibid., Penelope, p. 92.

3. Plutarch's Lives, ed. Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols. (London, 1919), VII, 399.

contained in 'That Colatine did talke in Tarquins tent', originated in Livy Book 1 Chapter LVII.6-LVIII.5. In the eighth sonnet to Cynthia however Craig adapts a piece of pure history in the shape of Ardean-Aracinian rivalry to poetic account:

> When those which at Ardea did remaine
> With Aracins did many times contend
> For Confind Lands, which neither could obtaine,
> In many Battails, though much blood they spend,
> Yet that sometime the strife should take good end
> Both they and those referre them selu's to Rome,
> Imperious Romans parties both offend,
> And to them selues the questiond Lands assume.[1]

This incident is fully dealt with by Livy in Book 3 Chapter LXXI-LXXII, "Victoriam honestam ex hostibus et seq .." The decision is caused by an aged plebeian Publius Scaptius. In the face of early opposition he carries the day and Livy comments, "vocatae tribus iudicaverunt agrum publicum populi Romani esse. Nec abnuitur ita fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret".[2] Craig thus proves himself as avid a student of Latin as of Greek history, with that rare capacity for isolating those passages which would make effective poetry.

Classical poets and orators also contribute fully to The Amorose Songes. From Cicero he draws the story of Theramene's vacillating policies; Aesculapius' skill as a doctor and Dionysius's continued tyranny as a teacher after expulsion from Syracuse. From Homer comes the legend of Ulysses and the lotus tree, from Ovid those of Acantius and Cydippe and Atalanta, from Virgil his references to the judgment of Paris. Quintilian provides the history of Zeuxis,

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1. Craig, Works, Cynthia, p. 101.

2. Livy, ed. B. O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library, 13 vols. (London, 1922), II, 242-8.

while his interest in the fate of Ajax derives from a reading of Sophocles. Exact references are contained in the list of classical influences at the end of this section. Poets and playwrights are however less influential than historians, while the frequent references to mythology suggest that Craig was acquainted with one or more of the Latin legend collections available at the time of the renaissance.

Of these the most popular was the Fabellae of Iulius Hyginus. It was a valuable handbook for renaissance poets, dabbling in mythology and Craig may well have possessed a copy. Certainly he very often chooses legends, before recounted in the concise, dramatic style of Hyginus. In 'False Eriphile sometimes did betray Facidic wife Amphiarus her spouse' he relates the treachery of Eriphile, and Amphiarus' later vengeance through Alcmeon. This same legend appeared as the 73rd Fable in Hyginus' collection:

> Amphiaraus Oeclei et Hypermestrae Thestii filiae filius augur, qui sciret si ad Thebas oppugnatum isset se inde non rediturum, itaque celauit se conscia Eriphyle coniuge sua Talai filia. 2. Adrastus autem ut eum inuestigaret monile aureum ex gemmis fecit et muneri dedit sorori suae Eriphylae, quae doni cupida coniugem prodidit; Amphiaraus Alcmaeoni filio suo praecepit ut post suam mortem poenas a matre exsequeretur. 3. qui postquam apud Thebas terra est deuoratus, Alcmaeon memor patris praecepti Eriphylen matrem suam interfecit; quem postea exagitarunt.[1]

Time and again Craig relates legends also found in Hyginus, sometimes choosing little known versions, which do not appear in the poets. The account of Ulysses' death in the penultimate sonnet to Penelope occurs nowhere in Homer:

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1. Hygini Fabulae, ed. H. I. Rose (London, 1934), p. 56.

> That Parricid which from a farre should come,
> Telegonus whom he with Circe gat,
> Should kill his father at his coming home.

But in Hyginus' 127th Fable, both his origin and his deed are described, in language similar to Craig's:

> Telegonus Ulixis et Circes filius missus a matre ut genitorem quaereret, tempestate in Ithacam est delatus, ibique fame coactos agros depopulari coepit; cum quo Ulixes et Telemachus ignari arma contulerunt. 2. Ulixes a Telegono filio est interfectus.[1]

The story of Hylas likewise is found in Hyginus as is the legend of Deianira and the centaur Nessus:

> See Deianira, see how I am shent
> By that same Shirt which Nessus to thee gaue,
> And thou againe to me by Lychas sent,
> I am inflam'd flesh, bons, and all I haue. (Craig)

In Hyginus the story is spread over Fable 34, 'Nessus' and Fable 36, 'Deianira', with the former recounting the gift of the shirt and the latter its application:

> Nessus: 2. ille moriens, cum sciret sagittas hydrae Lernaeae felle tinctas quantam uim haberent ueneni, sanguinem suum exceptum Deianirae dedit et id philtrum esse dixit; si uellet ne se coniunx sperneret, eo iuberet uestem eius perungi.
>
> Deianira: 2. inde paulum quod in terra deciderat et id sol attigit, ardere coepit. quod Deianira ut uidit, aliter esse ac Nessus dixerat intellexit, et qui reuocaret eum cui uestem dederat misit. 3. quam Hercules iam induerat, statimque flagrare coepit.[2]

Therefore although Craig's classical debts are wide and varied, stretching across poets, playwrights, historians, orators and myth collectors, he probably owes most to Herodotus and Hyginus. A list of his major classical borrowings follows.

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1. Craig, Works, Penelope, p. 120. Hyginus, p. 94.

2. Craig, Works, Lais p. 53. Hyginus, pp. 36, 37.

Page	Legend/History	Source
25	Scilurus and the lesson of the forty sticks	Plutarch Moralia, "Sayings of Kings"
26	Irus offering to obey Pallas always	Hyginus Fable 126
27	Judgment of Paris	Virgil Aeneid 1/2/7
	Acantius and Cydippe	Ovid Heroides 21/229
	The Enbean and Atlanta	Ovid Met. 10/565 ff
28	Gymnosophists and Alexander	Plutarch Life of Alexander
43	Attalus giving his crown to his people	Plutarch Life of Gracchus
44	Story of Anacreon and Policrates	Herodotus Bk. 3, Chap. 120-122
34	Story of Hylas and Hercules	Hyginus Fable 14. (also Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica
39	King Croesus and Lydian wealth	Herodotus Bk. 1, Chaps. 93 and 94.
53	Deianira and the shirt of Nessus	Hyginus Fables 34, 36. Sophocles Trachiniae
54	Xerxes and the Persian skipper	Herodotus Bk. 8, chap. 118
56	Wanderings of Phronesis	Phronesis = commonsense
59	Persian kings and River Choaspes	Herodotus Bk. 1, chap. 188
72	Ulysses and the Lotus tree	Homer Odyssey, Bk. 9
77	Theramene's shoe	Cicero Ad M. Brutum (Vol. 1 p. 344)
79	Story of Ajax	Sophocles Ajax
81	Eriphile, Amphiarus and Alcmeon	Hyginus Fable 73
	Story of Adrastus	Hyginus Fable 69
84	The warring between Polynices and Etiocles after gaining the crown	Sophocles Oedipus of Colonus and Antigone Hyginus Fable 68
88	Zeuxis and his paintings	Quintilian Bk. 12, Chap. X/4 et seq.
91	The rape of Lucrece after Colatine's boasting to Tarquin	Livy Bk. 1, Chap. LVII.6 - LVIII.5.
92	Porus, King of India	Plutarch Life of Alexander
93	Dionysius as tyrant-king and tyrant-teacher	Cicero Tusc.Disput. 3/12/27; Fam. 9/18/1
95	Aesculapius and his skill as a doctor	Cicero De Deorum Natura 3/22. De Divinatione 2/48/123.
101	The feud between Ardeans and Aracinians	Livy Bk. 3, Chap. LXXI
107	The battle between Scythian lords and their slaves	Herodotus Bk. IV, Chap. 1-4
120	Telegonus' murder of his father, Ulysses	Hyginus Fable 127
136	Rhodope, the 'queen' of Egypt	Herodotus Bk. 2, Chaps. 134-135

Despite Craig's classical preferences, however, this second period of Scottish sonneteering is dominated by Petrarch and Italian influence. The movement towards vernacular writing guaranteed the suppression of most latinate verse. The reaction against the Castalians produced a similar reaction against the French and Scottish sources they had favoured. The movement south increased the interest in English sonneteers, especially Sidney, Spenser and Daniel. But this was predominantly the age of the love sequence in Scots, and that implied a return to fourteenth century Italy, to Petrarch and to Laura. Craig was the first Scot to compose a sequence, embodying a different approach to love and as such heralded the third era of the Scottish sonnet.

STYLE

Stylistically, as thematically, Craig is less of a Petrarchan than the other sonnet writers, but still owes some debt to the Italian poet. He uses the three major Petrarchan devices of antithesis, paradox and wordplay fairly regularly, but draws short of Fowler's repetitive treatment. Antithetical arrangements are most often used to conclude a sonnet as in 'As Marigould did in her Garden walke':

> And from that walke while as away she went.
> They weepe with deaw, and I in teares lament,[1]

or in the more complex ending to 'Thou who began by Menalus to mone':

> Thy heart has hurt, and mine of blis is bare:
> Thou chang'd thy shape, I am not what I was:
> In end thou sped, I ware my worke in vaine,
> I loue allace, and am not loued againe.[2]

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1. Craig, Works, Lithocardia, p. 41.

2. Ibid., Lithocardia, p. 52.

The major examples of antitheses in The Amorose Songes are to be found as follows: p. 29/7; 41/14; 50/2, 13, 14; 52/10-14; 54/14; 62/1, 3; 70/14; 71/3, 14; 73/14; 78/1; 90/9, 10, 11; 94/8; 96/14; 97/14; 102/14; 105/6, 8; 110/14; 113/4, 14; 116/1-8; 125/14; 144/2. This list shows clearly that while the technique is one of Craig's favourites, it is not used excessively.

Paradoxes are even rarer in Craig's sequence, although two sonnets are based on this figure throughout. The first of these is the 'wrathful farewell to Kala', before mentioned. In this he ponders on the paradox of evil being the necessary condition of virtue; bitterness of sweetness:

> The fairest Sunne doth breed the sharpest showrs,
> The fowlest Toads haue fairest Stons in store.[1]

The other example is the final sonnet to Idea. Here the paradox of the interrelationship between poet, poem and lady is expounded at length, with the aid of both antithesis and wordplay:

> My wandring Verse hath made thee known allwhare
> Thou known by them, and they are known by mee:
> Thou, they, and I, a true relation beare:
> As but the one, an other can not bee ...[2]

It is in fact the paradox of the Trinity, which Craig is explaining, although in this case the trinity of a divine love. These two sonnets are however the only ones which demand extensive use of paradox. Other notable examples are to be found in p. 69/11-14; 76/13-14 and 78/6, but generally Craig uses the technique sparingly.

He is more interested in wordplay, especially that involving the name of his lady. The use of Penelope Rich's name as a pun on

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1. Ibid., Kala, p. 119.

2. Ibid., Idea, p. 144.

her wealth is a good example:

> Rich, wise, and faire, to theee alone as thrall,
> I consecrate love, life, lines, thoughts, and all,[1]

as are the two anagrams on Mary Douglas. But Craig does experiment in other types of wordplay, specializing in vowel variations of the type found in 'When silent night had spred her pitchie vaile':

> And let our loves even with our lives take end,

or the repetitions of:

> O wounder of the world, who woundering eyne
> Do wounder still as on the rarest sight
> Of Nature's frame ...[2]

Further striking examples can be found in p. 39/6; 78/2 and 114/14, but Craig uses this figure more sparingly than either Fowler or Alexander. He does not break away entirely from Petrarchan stylistics, but he varies them with other rhetorical devices, just as he depicted one Petrarchan affection beside seven wholly different passions. In style as in thought he does not dispute the value of Petrarchanism so long as it does not claim to have a monopoly on themes, figures and conceits.

In fact his study of the classics often leads him into periodic constructions. The refusal to end a sentence, if a subordinate clause can somehow be concocted is characteristic of a number of Craig's less successful sonnets. The third poem to Lithocardia will serve as an example:

> When Churches all of Asia les and more,
> By Xerxes great were burnt, and cast to ground
> Of pittie hee Dianais Church forbore.
> A peece of worke whose like could not be found:

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1. Ibid., Penelope, p. 38.

2. Ibid., Kala, p. 115; Erantina, p. 32.

> And yet be fames report to be renound,
> Herostratus did set the same on fire,
> Which Xerxes great suppose a Monarch cround,
> Did spare unspoyld for all his proud Empire.[1]

By use of apposition and subordinate clauses of various types, Craig converts four reasonably simple sentences into one tottering syntactic edifice. It is a tendency to which all classical students submit some time. They begin to think that the Latinised English which forms the step immediately before prose composition is natural to their native tongue. The result is the periodic style exemplified above. Craig fortunately does not yield to this temptation very often, but the rhythm of Latin is never very far away from The Amorose Songes. Another result of this is the use of suspension. Like Milton, Craig enjoyed holding the principle clause back till the last possible moment. Latin example certainly lay behind this technique, which Craig employs very often. (See p. 31 'Nor there where as the yoaked restles Horse' and p. 32 '0 wounder to the world, whom wondering eyne'.)

In his vocabulary too the influence of Latin and Greek is strong. Most of his aureate terms are coinages from these languages. Mention may be made of the following: 'apodosis', 'chiragra', 'circumcituate', 'circumgire', 'cogiate', 'desuetude', 'evitation', 'exponis', 'exequiall', 'fabulator', 'facund', 'fatidic', 'lihanotes', 'macerat', 'oblectaments', 'obumbrate', 'onmanumitted', 'ostracism'd', 'pedaret', 'pererre', 'proditor', and 'umbers'.[2] These coinages are

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1. Ibid., Lithocardia, p. 40.

2. Latter part of a comparison; gout in the hand; set around; roll round; disuse; avoiding; explains; with reference to funerals; teller of stories; eloquent; foreseeing; offerings inspired by drink; grown lean; powers of pleasing; darkened; still enslaved; banished; voter in the senate; wander through; traitor; graves.

really the only element in Craig's verse which argue for its being called pedantic. But his retreat to classical roots is as much an admission of uncertainty in English composition as a flouting of classical learning. Craig, like the innovators of English prose used Latin and Greek as a certain basis for retreat, when faced with situations where the vernacular was inadequate. When Craig's limited knowledge of English let him down, he created a word from the more familiar Latin or Greek root. His wide reading of the classics therefore preserves him from the errors of Murray at the cost of being labelled aureate and pedantic.

Other signs of uncertainty in controlling his medium are not difficult to find. One may remember that Caxton in his first attempts at English prose was often forced into using parentheses, doublets and triads. These are also the most noticeable stylistic characteristics in Craig's verse. Parentheses are often added for the sake of rhyme or metre, as in the examples below:

> Thus like a Glasse my face may well declare
> My loue to thee, and with my loue my paine:
> Thine show's againe (though it be matchles faire)
> Thy hatefull heart.
>
> I sweare (sweet Kala) by my flames, thy eyes,
> O eyes; no eyes, but rather starres diuine.[1]

By resorting to them so often Craig betrays an inability to convey all his ideas within the confines of normal English syntax. The main occasions on which stray thoughts are parenthetically broached are listed below: p. 30/13; 33/4; 36/9; 38/2; 47/1; 48/13;

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1. Craig, Works, Erantina, p. 49; Kala, p. 99. The second sonnet is based on Hieronimo's speech, "Oh eies, no eies, but fountains fraught with teares", in Thomas Kyd's, The Spanish Tragedie.

49/11; 54/6, 11; 55/13; 56/8; 58/6; 65/3; 70/13; 79/2; 81/3, 6; 91/13; 92/8; 97/1-3; 98/9, 13; 88/1; 100/5; 102/9; 107/14; 113/1; 115/5; 117/1, 8, 13 and 137/9. When combined to periodic structure these side comments add looseness to complexity, so that Craig at his worst can vie with Alexander in obscurity. Both however are using the best means available to conceal their awkwardness in handling the southern English dialect. Their stylistic closeness to Caxton is therefore not coincidental but due to the similarity of the problems facing fifteenth century Englishman and seventeenth century Scot.

The introduction of simple and alliterative groupings of words is yet another device which makes Craig's style rather loose. He most frequently employs a pairing of words with similar meanings, as in:

'nor cease, nor shrinke for shame' (p. 46)

although antonyms are also popular:

quick and dead a martyr still remaine (p. 125)

and the addition of alliteration:

those daintie Douns and Dales (p. 142).

Triads exist in simple form:

And desp'rately pursue the sweete, proud faire (p. 29)

with alliteration:

Bereft of rest I tosse, I turne, I toyle (p. 60)

and with variation of length:

Nor tract of time, nor sad eclipse of place,
Nor absence long. (p. 142)

Groupings of four, although naturally less common, do occur. When recounting the tyranny of Nero, Craig remarks:

He saw the rich, the poore, the young, the old. (p. 58)

Alliteration is added to the quadruple plea of his first sonnet to Cynthia:

I pray, I prays, I pleade, and I implore,

while in the eighth poem to Lithocardia the final couplet contains two groupings of four and a use of underwriting:

Then farewell she, auth, love, hard-heart, each one,
Come Atrops, Lethe, Death and Buriall stone. (p. 29)

Even a list of five is not too clumsy for inclusion in the final lines of a sonnet to Lady Rich:

Rich, wise and fair, to thee alone as thrall,
I consecrate loue, life, lines, thoughts and all, (p. 38)

nor for the 'hazard' sonnet to Idea:

With her and her were you and this and that. (p. 108)

Groupings of this type abound in Craig's verse, descending in popularity from doublets to quintuplets. In some cases a word of Latin origin is set against its native counterpart, in some cases the lists are used for emphasis, in others to eke out the metre. Usually Craig is master of this technique, but at times it stretches sentence length beyond the limits of memory or slows down the speed of narration.

Just as Craig shows us many types of love, so he presents many different styles. He uses the Petrarchan devices of antithesis, paradox and wordplay but is also capable of Latin periodic constructions, of simple, almost colloquial narrative, and of forceful pulpit rhetoric. At the same time he was not entirely at ease when writing in Southern English, as Latin aureation, parentheses and suspensions suggest. He was saved from the fate of Murray by

superior knowledge of rhetoric and of the classics. No limited pedant this, but a writer of insight and variety, mastering language difficulties with all the skill at his disposal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE METAPHYSICAL SONNET

SIR ROBERT AYTON

BIOGRAPHY

Sir Robert Ayton belonged to the Berwickshire family of that name. They had been landowners in the Merse district of the borders until 1472, when the heiress to the Ayton lands married into the Home family. For a short period their power seemed to be on the wane, as her lands were gifted to her husband. The poet's great grandfather, Andrew Ayton, captain of Stirling Castle and sheriff of Stirlingshire, however began rebuilding their estates. By January 1508 he had gained the title deeds to the lands of Inverallan, Tillicoultre, Kilgour, the Qwyltis, Glenduckie and Dunmure. The Ayton heritage, lost through marriage, had been re-established by merit.[1]

Captain Ayton had ten children. His youngest son John, our principal concern, was granted the lands of Kinaldie. He married Margery Stewart, who was the illegitimate daughter of an illegitimate father, Alexander Stuart, Bishop of Moray and Abbot of Scone. Their elder son was retarded, but the younger boy Andrew married Mary Lundie and in due time became the poet's father.[2]

Robert Ayton wasborn in the Castle of Kinaldie in 1569 or early 1570. Kinaldie itself is in the Parish of Cameron, lying close to

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1. The Works of Sir Robert Ayton, ed. Charles B. Gullans, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1963), pp. 4-6. Most of the historical sources are contained in Gullans' historical introduction, pp. 3-106.

2. For the illegitimacy of Margaret Stewart and the Abbot of Scone, see Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum (1542-48), III, No. 2526, and Registrum Magnum Sigilli Regum Scotorum (1513-46), No. 111. For evidence of the elder son's incapacity, see St. Andrews Commissariot Testaments, 3/127 (1574), f. 128v.

St. Andrews and it was this University which Robert attended, matriculating with his eldest brother in 1583.[1] By 1588 he had graduated M.A. and in the years immediately following may have followed the custom of the day by taking a continental tour. Certainly Rogers remarks that he was a Civil Law student at Paris University, while Dempster refers to his writing French and Greek poetry during this period. The latter also comments on his stay abroad,

> Diu in Galliis bonas artes excoluit,[2]

so that the period from 1588 to 1603 may well have been spont on the continent, mainly in France.

Certainly he was in Paris in 1603, where he composed a Latin eulogy to King James. He seems to have followed his poem across the channel, for he wasin Britain soon enough to contribute a sonnet to The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craig, which appeared in 1604.[3] Although the short epigram 'Carmina quae scripsi, laudasti maxime Princeps', suggests impatience for preference, his rise to fame at court was meteoric, when compared with that of Baldynneis or Craig. As early as 1608 he had become a groom of the Privy Chamber with all the possibilities of future advancement which that post implied. Ayton had gained access to the outermost room of the king's private suite and also to the external rims of Royal favour. Soon he was

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1. St. Andrews University Records, Acta Rectorum, III, 56.

2. Thomas Dempster, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, ed. David Laing, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1829), I, 62.

3. This sonnet, "Why thought fond Grece to build a solid fame" appears in Gullans' edition of Ayton's works at p. 170.

to move into the vortex.[1]

His next step forward took the shape of an unofficial ambassadorship. James VI had written his pamphlet proving that Roman Catholics were duty bound to swear obedience to their king. It had been fiercely opposed by Cardinal Bellarmine and James decided to send a copy of his reply to each of the European rulers. One of the bearers was Ayton, as Antonio Correr, the Venetian Ambassador reports on June 25th, 1609:

> Ayton (Quelton) has had one thousand two hundred to take the book to the Protestant princes in Germany.[2]

As the carriers of the book were expected to pursue other state business as well, it is clear that Ayton was now in a position of some responsibility.

In 1612 he was knighted at Rycot and soon became William Fowler's successor as secretary to the queen. Anne apparently liked the new Scot as little as the old initially, for she would not admit him to audience. Gradually however he gained her good graces and wrote many petitions on her behalf. One of these is a missive to Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, asking him to speed up a suit between Sir Charles Cavendish and a commoner named Delahay. This document gives us a glimpse of Anne's undoubted humanity, as her objection against the delay is that Delahay's finances would be unable to stand the strain of a long suit.[3] Generally queen and secretary seem to have been on harmonious terms till Anne's death and Ayton

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1. Public Record Office, Docquet SP 38/9/May 16, 1608.
2. Calendar State Papers, (Venetian) (1607-10), 289.
3. British Museum, Add. MS 12,507, f. 77.

found himself no longer confined to the Privy Chamber but allowed entrance to all parts of the royal household.

Chronologically the next step in Ayton's ambitious career was his application for a decree of denization. Politically the move was astute as the climate of opinion in James's court was now very much weighted against the Scottish infiltrators. By obtaining this decree, Ayton did not become naturalised, as this had been forbidden by Parliament. Instead he gained as many rights and privileges as were open to an alien desirous of becoming an English citizen, who had proved his loyalty through outstanding service to the country. In theory the additional advantages conferred on a man of the poet's rank were few. In practice his obvious desire to anglify won him many friends at court. Ayton was always a diplomat before a patriot.

By 1619 he had reached the zenith of Fortune's wheel or at least of that slightly smaller wheel operating for the benefit of Scotsmen in England. But in that year Anne died and due to the antagonism between king and queen, Ayton lost all his influence at court. James himself was ill and the astute Scotsman decided to ingratiate himself with the rising star, Charles, Prince of Wales. When father and son fell out over tactics in the Bohemian War, Ayton was one of the few courtiers openly to support the latter. Charles, enflamed by loyalty to his elder sister, wanted to aid her husband Frederick, Elector Palatine. Such an action would have been most ill advised. Britain was economically weak, while Frederick's claims to become Emperor were tenuous. Yet Ayton in his poem 'De Rebus Bohemicis' comes out strongly in favour of Charles.[1]

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1. Works of Ayton, ed. Gullans, p. 241. "Dum gener infaustis tentat temerarius ausis", et. seq.

Viewed objectively the king's policy of guarded support for the Palatinate was the better solution. Ayton's attitude therefore must be differently accounted for. On Anne's death he had probably expected James to supply another office suiting his status. All that was forthcoming was the promise of the post of 'Master of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katherine's' after the death of Julius Caesar. As that gentleman was still in good health and actually held the position for the next seventeen years, Ayton was understandably annoyed. Seeing that little was to be gained by supporting an ailing, antagonistic king, he threw in his lot with Charles. It was a gamble which later events were to justify.[1]

The estrangement between poet and king, although in the long run beneficial, did produce one immediate setback. The Provostship of Eton became vacant on the death of Thomas Murray of Tullibardine in 1623. The vacancy attracted many claimants, some of whom were actively campaigning during the king's illness. Sir Dudley Carleton for example tried to advance his case with the aid of Buckingham on February 2nd 1623. The Duke's absence abroad impeded him, so matters lapsed. Bacon too was an early starter and on the 25th March the king promised to "have a care of him". But as competition became keener, so Bacon's hopes diminished. By May, Ayton seemed to be leading, largely because he was without a post and had in addition offered his pension of £500 a year in exchange for the situation. Showing his usual cunning, he allowed a rumour to become rife that he was a suitor for the hand of Murray's widow, while also

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1. For a full account of this period in Ayton's life, see Catherine Jamieson, The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower (Oxford, 1952).

composing an epitaph to the late provost. Unfortunately a late entrant appeared on the scene in the person of Sir Henry Wotton, until lately Ambassador to Venice.

For a time it seemed that Ayton might still win the post and as late as March 10th 1624 Carleton commented:

> The Provostship of Eton is like to contenew voide to Mrs Murray's benefit yet a good while: and at last I beleeue Sr Robert Eton will have both her and it.[1]

But in the game of diplomacy, if not frugality, Ayton had at last met his match. Wotton began by plying Buckingham with valuable Italian art treasures and then resigned to him the post of Master of the Rolls. As a result, in July he was elected Provost, although by now almost in debt. Ayton remained out of office. Twice he had applied for a post under James and twice been refused. Eagerly he awaited the accession of Charles I.

The moment arrived in March 1625, but the new queen Henrietta Maria demanded that the major posts in her household be held by French Catholics. Led by the Bishop of Mende, these priests aroused open hostility in the court. Matters came to a head in July 1626, when Charles, who was by now almost estranged from his wife, brought out an order dismissing them. By August they had nearly all returned to France and Charles rewarded Ayton for his support in earlier days by creating him queen's secretary once more. Gullans points out that hs must have assumed duties by September 4th, for he witnessed a document on that day, creating Thomas Malet her Solicitor General.[2] On the other hand, his duties were not as

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1. Public Record Office, SP 14/160/58, March 10, 1624; Calendar State Papers, (Domestic) (1619-23), 494.

2. Works of Ayton, p. 75. British Museum, MS Stowe 142, f. 35.

extensive as they had been under Anne and the poet showed signs of discontent.

His literary standing seems to have been higher than any of the other Scottish sonneteers. Ben Jonson for example in the conversations with Drummond comments that "Sir R. Aiton loved him dearly",[1] and as Jonson stood at the centre of the most powerful literary clique of his day, such a comment assigns Ayton to the forefront of contemporary literati. Aubrey in his Brief Lives points to another influential acquaintance, Thomas Hobbes, while noting him to be on the best of terms with all the established writers of the day:

> He was acquainted with all the witts of his time in England. He was a great acquaintance of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, whom Mr Hobbes told me he made use of (together with Ben Johnson) for an Aristarchus, when he made his Epistle Dedicatory to his translation of Thycydides.[2]

To Aubrey we are also indebted for the knowledge that his works were admired by Dryden, while Donne must have been another acquaintance, being an unsuccessful applicant for the post of Anne's secretary and a co-member of the Jonson circle. Ayton like Alexander then, was highly regarded by the leading writers of his day.

Only minor incidents concern us before the poet's death. Around 1633 he found himself involved with a dormant patent. The incident itself is a trivial one, but it does show Ayton to have had close dealings with the middle and lower classes as well as with courtiers. Also in 1636 he at last became Master of St. Katherine's

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925), I, 137.

2. Aubrey's Brief Lives, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1898), I, 25.

when Julius Caesar died, while his elder brother John for some unknown reason resigned to him the charter to Overdurdie. The elderly poet however was nearing the end of a successful career. In January 1637-8 he made out a will, granting Lincolnshire estates to his nephew John; £1,000 to his brother John as a marriage portion for his daughters, and £500 to a younger brother Andrew, who had settled in Ulster. The will is a generous one, taking into account servants and loyal retainers. It also proves Ayton at his death to have been a man of wealth and landed influence.[1]

On February 25th 1638 he died, and was buried three days later in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey near the flight of steps leading to King Henry VII's chapel. Above him an elegant marble monument was erected bearing a lengthy Latin inscription. His bust was of copper and in the words of Aubrey, "curiously cast, with a laurell held over it by two figures of white marble".[2] Like so many other Scottish sonneteers he was a man of high rank who had known James's favour before passing into disrepute. Possessed of greater political skill than Alexander he was esteemed both as courtier and poet; had been elected secretary to two successive queens and ended his days as a man of substance. It would seem that he had achieved almost all the accolades open to a man in the Jacobean and Caroline courts. Only one jarring note is struck. At a time when books of epitaphs were commonplace and written in honour even of minor authors, a single poem heralded the passing of Sir

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1. Somerset House, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 27 Lee. Act of Probate, 7/3/1637.

2. Brief Lives, p. 25.

Robert Ayton.[1] This is strange. It leaves the student wondering whether his popularity was real or dependent on position; a product of personality or power.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE[2]

The Scottish sonnet has now passed out of a period of Petrarchan domination, culminating in Craig's partial rebellion from this stereotyped attitude to love. In the last chapter, love as a theme towered above all others and our primary task was to distinguish between the different types of amatory sequences written by Fowler and his followers. With Ayton however we return to a division reminiscent of Montgomerie rather than Alexander. Dedicatory and moral sonnets regain in part the popularity they had enjoyed among the Castalians. Of his twenty two sonnets only eleven are amatory in theme, To these are added six occasional works, two moral sonnets and a new group comprising three on historical themes. The width of subject matter favoured by the Castalians also returns, although the occasional sonnet is never again to establish mastery over its rivals.

Not surprisingly the revolution against Petrarchanism is not an absolute one. Ayton's lady like Laura is eternally chaste, so that he can lament as in S 32:

> My fairs unkinde, and I have spent my paines
> And purchast nothing but undew disdaines.3

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1. The author was a minor writer called Henry Glapthorne. His elegy, "Teares are all great mens Obsequies", is quoted by Gullans, p. 105.

2. See Appendix C.

3. Works of Ayton, p. 173. The numbering is as in Gullans' edition.

Seldom however does he become reconciled to this situation, viewing her as a 'strada al Dio'. He may admire the possibility of a platonic love, but always longs for physical union. As a result his lady is more often a tyrant than a saint and he more often compelled to exclaim "Faire cruell Silvia" or "thou art Extreame unkinde" than praise "the merritts of a Matchless dame". Indeed self-pity is one of the main emotions in Ayton's love poetry. He suffers all the miseries of the traditional Petrarchan lover:

> Knew I allace ye way I myt deploir,
> Not to ye world, but to thy self my teers.
> Onlie by the may cuirit be my soir,
> Ten thousannd heartes may not sustene sic weeres. (S 1)[1]

Like him he is thrown into confusion by the lady's beauty and chastity. His humility is such that he cannot even speak to her:

> Since my request in love offends thy eares,
> Hence forth I vow to hold my peace and dye. (S 20)[2]

The only possible end to his miseries is death, but this he will accept before unfaithfulness, which is viewed as a heinous crime against his honour and her divine beauty:

> I may unhappy, not Inconstant prove,
> For it is as impossible to mee
> To love her less, as more in love to bee. (S 32)[3]

The stock situation of a frustrated love existing between cruel, chaste lady and faithful, miserable lover is therefore at the base of most of Ayton's love poetry and to this extent he may be termed a Petrarchan. Like Montgomerie however he puts a Ronsardian emphasis on the value of physical love and blames his lady as much for her

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1. Ibid., p. 109.
2. Ibid., p. 164.
3. Ibid., p. 173.

inhuman tyranny as he praises her for possessing an angelic chastity.

The influence of Ficino is also strong in Ayton's verse, especially in S 17-19. S 17 is a clever adaptation of the Ficinian conceit that the first stage of love's ladder begins with the senses:

> Oh, eyes and eares, that you had been more wise
> And had not waken'd up a sleeping flame![1]

There is a logical and effective progression to this sonnet. The first stanza consists of a chiding of the poet's eyes for awakening the fires of love. In the second stanza he turns to the ears and blames them for believing the lady's "perswasive replyes". This leads to a Petrarchan stoicism in the third stanza, where he finds solace by recalling all the lady's fine qualities. As is usual with Ayton the culminating movement in the argument is reserved for the last couplet. Here the argument is brought full circle, and the poet's weakness becomes a condition of his strength:

> For who soe loves her not, that heares or sees,
> Is neither worthy to have eares nor eyes.[2]

The Ficinian fancy of love originating in the senses is thus used as a starting point for the sonnet. It is developed in three orderly stages, before the approved conclusion, that no shame attaches to sensual love in its early stages, is reached.

S 18 is in many ways similar, although based on a different tenet of Ficino's philosophy. Ayton fastens on the conceit that the lover carries an image of the lady in his eye and another engraved on his heart. The logical progression in stanzas is almost identical to that noted in S 17. In the first stanza the lady is

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1. Ibid., p. 162.

2. Ibid.

advised to reject her mirror in favour of the poet's eyes:

> Where thou shalt see thy true resemblance twyce.[1]

This development by rejection continues in the next stanza, where his heart is offered as a mirror in preference to his eyes, and even carries over into the third, where his verse suggests itself as more adequate than his heart. With mathematical precision, each stanza contains one rejection and offers one alternative. As in S 17, the culmination of the argument is reserved for the final couplet, where the poet faces the possibility of her scorning all his proffered mirrors:

> Or if to none of those thou'l daigne to come,
> Weepe eyes, breake heart, and you my verse be dumbe.[2]

Once more a piece of Ficinian philosophy has been logically developed over three stanzas, with the striking conclusion presented in the last two lines.

S 19 is a third argument based on Ficino, but the development follows an octet/sestet form instead of being advanced in quatrains. The image of the eagle's flight is used to embody the Ficinian ascent from physical love to divine. In the four rhetorical questions which comprise the octet, the poet defends his right to aspire in continued love, although despised by the lady. In the sestet, he puts his faith in the heavens and looks forward to the hour when imperfect love on earth will change to the perfect love of God beyond the grave:

> And ere I change, by t'heavens I vow to leave
> A Ioyles bedd, and take a joyfull Grave.[3]

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1. Ibid., p. 162.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 163.

The somewhat rigid progression of argument noted in the previous sonnets continues in this one, with the first eight lines being broken into four couplets by the repetition of 'can' initially. The following quatrain is separated from the octet by the exclamation, 'Noe, noe' and follows an antithetical development over the next three lines, before the poem is rounded off in the couplet quoted above. This mathematical development of themes is a characteristic of the Scottish sonnet and especially noticeable in all the early Castalians.

Despite his adherence to many of the Petrarchan and Ficinian ideas, Ayton continues Craig's rebellion in a number of ways. It has already been noticed that his output suggests that the Scottish poet's enthusiasm for Petrarchanism is on the wane. There is no lengthy love sequence, while only nine sonnets are in any sense inspired by the Italian. When this number is compared with the 105 sonnets of the Aurora or Fowler's many Petrarchan effusions, the extent to which Petrarch's influence has waned becomes clear. Also like Montgomerie he leans towards the Ronsardian side of the tradition, regretting the deprivation of physical satisfaction and condemning chastity as part of an inhumane tyranny.

Occasionally too the realism of a Montgomerie or a Baldynneis creeps into his verse. His love for the lady may be great; he may believe her angelic in many ways, but she is not above leading him on by the promise of future favours:

> And you againe, even as unhappy eares,
> Why did her painted Phrase your Fort surprise?
> Know you not well that in her lipps she beares
> A charming host of perswasive replyes?1

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1. Ibid., p. 162. It should be remembered that the deceitfulness of the lady, in the form of a reality/appearance contrast was also a theme in Alexander's Aurora.

It was probably his friend Craig, who was at times Ayton's poetic collaborator, who encouraged him to view love more realistically. The effect of this is a return to the themes of the early Castalians, as well as an echoing of The Amorose Songes. Like Craig and Montgomerie, Ayton is capable of a lighthearted approach to love. S 42 for example is a gentle satire on woman's vanity, based on two possible meanings of 'painting'. Ayton tempts his readers to define the word as 'portraiture':

> Pamphilia hath a number of good parts
> Which Commendation to her worth imparts,
> But amongst all, in one she doth excell,
> That she can paint incomparablie well.[1]

The problem is complicated by the lady's denial of any artistic ability and by the supposed portrait answering the poet on its own behalf. But as usual, all is summed up in the final couplet, when painting is finally equated with the cosmetic art:

> What thinke you this a Prodigie? Its none,
> The painter and the picture were both one.[2]

This attitude to the lady would fit more easily into Montgomerie's cynical code of love set out in MP 26, than Petrarch's, while the lady is much more liable to be Craig's Lais than the divine Laura. Ayton like the Castalians is aware of love's many different manifestations, not limited to the creed of Petrarchan idealism.

Like the Baldynneis of the 'hostess' sonnets, the Montgomerie of S 54 and the Craig of some of the Lais sonnets, he even sinks to the level of obscenity. Indeed in S 44, a poem which he did not wish published, but which won its way into no fewer than twenty six

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1. Ibid., p. 182.

2. Ibid.

MSS, he produces the best example of this type of verse in Scotland. The poem is of the eighteen line type composed by Watson in his Hecatompathia, and compares the act of love to a game of dice:

> But, being Gamesters, you must boldly venter,
> And wher you see the pointe lye open, enter.
> Beleive mee one thing, Nothing brings about
> A game halfe lost soe soone as holding out.
> And next to holding out, this you shall finde,
> There's nothing worse then entering still behinde.
> Yet doth not all in happy entrance lye,
> When you are on, you must throw home and hye.[1]

From this excerpt, one can readily understand why a prominent courtier would not wish the poem published, and why it eventually was discovered in so many MSS. It further emphasises the width of Ayton's range of amatory verse and confirms his position as Craig's successor in the revolt against Petrarchan domination. Like Craig he accepts the Petrarchan experience as valid, but only as one among others. Then he goes further than Craig by questioning love's right to be the unchallenged major theme in sonneteering and so comes closer and closer to the Castalians.

Nevertheless, this is not just a case of the Scottish sonnet returning to its roots once more. By the 1590's Donne had begun the metaphysical movement in English poetry and Ayton is one of the first Scots to align himself with this new approach to verse. Craig with his lengthy conceits and heavily cerebral poetry was probably the herald of this movement in Scotland, but it is Ayton who led the vanguard. The detailed arguments of S 17-19 belong to the metaphysical school, with its love for complex discussion on

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1. Ibid., p. 185. The majority of manuscripts give an eight line version of this sonnet, comprising lines 1-2, 5-8, 17-18 (compressed into one line) and 16. The title in these cases is either 'Of Love' or merely 'A Song'.

love. As with the metaphysicals, every attitude must be backed up with a reason for taking that attitude:

> I bid farewell into the world and thee,
> To the, because thou art Extreame unkinde,
> Unto the world, because the world to me
> Is nothing, since I cannott move thy minde.[1]

Like the metaphysicals, he questions the Petrarchan compliments on rationalistic grounds. In S 21 for example he fears that the lady's eyes cannot be lightnings, "for Lightnings could not be soe long soe bright", nor Suns for "in that there Number them betrayes". Although less daring in his comparisons, he has the metaphysical capacity for focussing idea into emotional equivalent, and also can instantaneously multiply these emotional equivalents. When comparing her eyes therefore they are not only heavens, but suns and lightnings as well. The lady needing a mirror can find one in his eyes, another in his heart and a third in his verse. When searching for an echo to his complaint, hills, dales, deserts, brooks and winds all occur as possibilities. The poetry expresses passion, but it is also an intellectual exercise in finding as many exact emotional correspondences as possible.

Ayton is also adept at finding a number of relationships between two apparently unconnected ideas or pursuits. Into this category falls the lengthy comparison between love and dice in S 44 or that between cosmetics and painting in S 42. In these instances only one objective correlative is found, and the ingenuity consists in finding on how many levels it is applicable. This too is a recognisably metaphysical trait, the procedure being roughly that adopted

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1. Ibid., p. 166.

by Donne in 'The Flea'.

On the other hand, Ayton's approach is too logical, too orderly, to produce poetry like Donne's in which the battle between reason and passion forges its own tortuous rhythmical pattern. He is more properly a forerunner of the Caroline poets like Waller and Rochester, adept at finding witty conceits, but not at fusing comparison with thing compared. In Ayton's verse the two ever remain separate. One applauds the ingenuity of the parallels, the breadth of imaginative scope brought to bear on apparently limited subjects, and the neat development of the arguments. But one is never vitally involved in the passion of the debate, nor in the feelings of the contestants.

As a love sonneteer Ayton does not reject Petrarchanism, but he feels free to view love in different lights - realistic, ironical, even obscene. He thus continues the broadening attitude to the theme adopted by his friend Alexander Craig, and in so doing nearly returns to the old Castalian order, and especially to Montgomerie. What prevents this, is the influence of the metaphysical movement, now gathering strength in England. Retaining some of the Petrarchan ideas favoured by Fowler and his followers, in some ways looking back nostalgically to the Castalians, he is still essentially forward looking. Of Ayton it can truly be said that his poetry looks to the past, comprehends the present and anticipates the future. But it is the metaphysical element in his work which is the most striking, and gives it its unique character.

OTHER THEMES

In Chapter 6, love as a theme overshadowed all others, but the

sequence sonneteers did not ignore the major European themes. They formed the background for many of the Petrarchan arguments advanced by the poets of that period. As was suggested, the theme of Fortune was dominant in Alexander and that of Nature in Fowler, but nearly all the ideas listed in Chapter 4 occurred somewhere in their verse, usually with regularity. Ayton did not only follow a new theory of poetry, he also rejected many of those attitudes, revered by the earlier poets. In his sonnets there is no mention of the soul, harbouring a struggle between reason and passion or of anamnesis. The soul is mentioned as a fact, but all the platonic undertones have disappeared. Theories of cosmology, of the elements and of the aboriginal strife between natural forces are also omitted. Most notably of all, the comforting theory of world order, with its implications of hierarchies and correspondences is rejected by Ayton. His poetry therefore is expressive of doubt, rather than certainty, and as such is a better mirror of the late Jacobean, early Caroline period. The confidence of the Elizabethan era, both patriotic and scientific, was on the wane, and by rejecting the comforting poetic fiction of hierarchy along with the security of Petrarchan conceits, Ayton is the first Scottish sonneteer to produce a poetry of conflict and doubt, illustrative of the age in which he lived.

Only the idea of fortune recurs with any regularity, probably because it fits with the sense of uncertainty which characterized the age. It as it were symbolises those greater problems with which the poet's intellect cannot cope. It is therefore a concept connected with questioning:

> Ohe loyell saull is this ye fates decreete,
> May I not haue yr PRESENS as befoir?

and with misery:

> I sitt and Muse
> On all my crosses, and almost accuse
> The heavens for dealing with me as they doe.[1]

It is indeed true that the idea of a purposeless world, into and out of which we go ignorant and unwilling, fits more satisfactorily into the mood of disquietude which characterized the later Jacobean period. One feels that many of the Elizabethan poetasters, surrounded by a spirit of national smugness, used the word fortune with little idea of its deeper meanings.

Ayton on the other hand knows that moment when the mind refuses to accept any hope of actuality. Then the only certitude is that one's fate can be no worse:

> Noe sunn appeares to cleare those clouds of care,
> Save this, that fortune neither may nor dare,
> Make my misshapps more haples then they are.[2]

Ayton retains the idea of fortune, but infuses it with new meaning. It is a concept of doubt in poetry of doubt, arising out of personal experience. Like Montgomerie and Baldynneis, Ayton had suffered reversals and was aware that no easy principle of 'poetic justice' ruled the world. 'Fortune' for him is deep-felt and full of personal meaning, not a pawn in the game of Petrarchan posturising.

Although Ayton does not make nearly so much use of mythological figures as either Alexander or Craig, they do appear in his verse.

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1. Ibid., p. 109 and p. 174.

2. Ibid., p. 166. It should be noted that this stoicism comes close to that adopted so frequently by Petrarch in his Sonetti and discussed in Chapter 3.

In his handling of them, he seems to have been influenced by the latter poet. Craig for example mixed characters of myth with coinages of his own, so that Mars and Narcissus rub shoulders with Phronesis (the wandering one) and Lithocardia (the stony hearted one). In S 15 Ayton follows the same procedure. Tantalus and Narcissus ('Cephisus sonne') are mentioned before the coinage from 'thus', 'Thurinus'. Occasionally too he uses lesser known characters, who have also appeared in Craig's verse. In 'In Pallas Church did wretched Irus stand' Craig had promised to serve the queen as dutifully as Irus served Pallas. In 'Short is the day, but long (allace) to mee', he had referred to the riches of King Croesus of Lydia. The two stories are combined in one of Ayton's paeans to Queen Anne:

> Princes ar gods, gods laughs to see their shrynes
> Adorned with any gift but of that kynd
> That Irus may as weel as Cresus find.[1]

As Ayton was one of Craig's poetic collaborators, and read The Amorose Songes and other collections before Craig had them published, he probably made use of his friend's wide classical knowledge when writing his own verse.

In his two dedicatory sonnets to King James, Ayton uses Craig's favourite device of vivid classical legend and particular application. In the first he refers to the statue of Memnon which gave out a musical note when the sun's rays first struck it in the morning. Actually the statue in question is in memory of Amenhotep III, but it has become connected with the Memnon legend. The application is neat, and involves the only use of hierarchical

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1. Ibid., p. 168, 'To Queen Anne upon New-Year's Day 1604'.

correspondences in Ayton's sonnets:

> I am that statue, greate and mighty King,
> Thou are that Phebus who with rayes of love
> Did make mee both to breath to live and move.[1]

It is noticeable that Craig produced the same sort of conceit in 'Faire louelie Haebae Queene of pleasant Youth", where the lady's beams like Phoebus' rays infused love in him. Ayton proves himself adept at the legend/application technique both in this sonnet and in 'The old records of annalized fame', which introduces the myth of the island of Delos. But in these poems he was almost certainly Craig's disciple. He may therefore use a popular European theme, but in close imitation of a Scottish model. As with 'fortune', his use of the theme is subject to reservations.

Ayton then reacts against the major European themes by ignoring most of them. His mythological references are not so frequent as those of the Petrarchan sequence writers. In both too, Scottish influence is present, with Craig his master in mythology and Montgomerie at times dictating his attitude to love. The idea of fortune remains powerful in his verse, but it is adapted to fit in with the new metaphysical type of poetry Ayton is writing. It is part of the philosophy of his poetry that he accepts nothing at face value, and in accordance with this, the old European themes are either rejected or altered. It remains to be seen what is put in their place.

Like Baldynneis, Ayton is interested in the virtues and attitudes which make up the human personality. And just as Baldynneis wrote on truth and chastity, so Ayton composes two sonnets on hope - S 15 'On Hope' and S 33 'On Tabacco'. They are very similar in approach

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1. Ibid., p. 172.

and imagery. In both for example, hope is viewed as deceitful:

> For me, I rather cherish true dispaire
> Then entertaine such hopes as doe betray mee (S 15)

> But haveing spent my pype, I then, perceive
> That hopes and dreames are Couzens, both deceive. (S 33)[1]

In both too hope is a shadow, a puff of smoke flitting across the horizon, only to vanish for ever:

> Thurinus' smoake (exchanged) for good and solid ware (S 15)

> To live upon Tobacco and on hope,
> The ones but smoake, the other is but winde. (S 33)[2]

And in both the poet decides to reject the life of hope in favour of despair, this point being put positively in S 15:

> A hopeless life is Arm'd against all paine,
> It doubleth greife to hope and not t'obtaine,

and negatively in S 33 where hope's "smyling brow" and "chearfull expectations" are introduced to be summarily rejected.[3]

Despite these similarities however, there is a basic difference between the poems. Although Ayton is predominantly metaphysical in outlook he does stand at the beginning of this movement in Scotland. As a result some of his works look back to Elizabethan techniques, while others make use of unifying conceits and unlikely parallels. The two 'hope' sonnets present an example of each type. S 15 is one of the older type of sonnet, with its series of short parallels and frequent references to mythology:

> You hopes, you Bankerouts of tyme and youth,
> You shadowes which Cephisus sonne did chase,

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1. Ibid., p. 160 and p. 174.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

You fruites which fledd from Tantalus hungry mouth,
Goe hence from mee and take your dwelling place.[1]

The mind's attention moves from one aspect of the situation to another, with no unifying conceit to give the poem formal coherence. In S 33 on the other hand, Ayton isolates the most striking parallel in the earlier poem, that between hope and tobacco smoke. Round these apparently unconnected concepts the whole argument is centred. The poet sits smoking, brooding on the miseries of life until hope grows within him. It lasts however, only as long as his pipe remains alight. The pipe thus becomes identified with the poet's idea of hope as a thing of smoke and impermanence.[2] Here then is the unifying device lacking in the earlier work, casting the poem into a single, satisfying form. Unity instead of variety; singleness and singularity of conceit instead of a number of trite parallels. Similar in theme the poems may be, but they face in opposite literary directions. Hope unifies them, but 'respice, prospice' gives them their individuality.

With these 'hope' sonnets, the preaching element in the Scottish sonnet returns. In the Petrarchan period it had been largely dormant, but one hears in Ayton again the chiding tones of Montgomerie and the philosophising voice of Stewart and James. The method of preaching is what is new, with extended conceit replacing more direct argument; metaphysical techniques ousting the well tried methods of the old Scottish makars.

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1. Ibid., p. 160.

2. Tobacco as a subject at this time was very popular. In 1614 William Barclay published Nepenthes or the Vertue of Tabacco. Its attitude was opposed by James VI in the Counterblast to Tobacco two years later. Ayton's sonnet and the Hymnus Tabaci of his friend Ralph Thorius support Barclay's case.

James VI in the Reulis and Cautelis had praised the sonnet as a genre suited to the composition of dedications. The early Castalians had underlined this in their collections, but the sequence writers had written fewer sonnets of this type. Its popularity on the other hand had never died out entirely and seven of Ayton's twenty three sonnets are addressed to acquaintances. They represent perhaps the least inspired portion of his work, although 'To Mrs Margaret Lesly' includes a good attempt at natural description in the manner of Fowler:

> In balmie feildes which fairds her flourie face
> With sweete perfumes of Cornes, of trees, of plants,[1]

while 'To Queen Anne upone New-year's Day 1604' is a reasonably effective pension sonnet perhaps modelled on Montgomerie's sequence.

The remaining five are all written to other Scottish sonneteers, showing that relations between the court poets were still reasonably close. In his sonnets to the king, as in those of Craig, he nowhere comments on James's poetic talents. It is therefore almost certain that in his maturer years the king took no active part in Scottish poetry. As a result Ayton feels free to address two poems to him, based on the techniques of Alexander Craig rather than James's own. The unifying conceit method is far removed from the "change of purposis" advocated by the king. It also permits him to call Alexander "the Monarch-tragick of this Ile" on account of his Monarchicke Tragedies. In earlier days, wordplay of this type was reserved solely for the monarch-poet, James.

Craig, however, was his closest friend among the Scottish poets.

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1. Works of Ayton, p. 161.

In S 27 he uses a Craig/Parnassus pun to compliment the author of the Poeticall Essayes both on his talent and on his reliance on Greek literature:

> Lo here the Craige, whence flow's that sacred Well,
> Where Phoebus raigns, where all the Muses dwell.[1]

In S 34 he replies to Craig's imputation that his sonnets are too gloomy by pleading that this is the cast of his disposition. To feign joy would merely double his misery. This is a simple yet very effective sonnet, with the argument neatly developed in quatrains in Ayton's usual fashion. It opens with a wish to accede to Craig's request, continues with his reasons for refusing, then an invitation to the other poet to imitate his gloomy style and culminates, as it began, with a wish:

> Perhaps the teares that from a Craig shall floe,
> May proue a Soveraigne balme to cure my woe.[2]

Apart from showing a revival in dedicatory verse and proving that the Scottish sonneteers remained in close contact towards the end of James's reign, these sonnets are remarkable in one further way. They present examples of the techniques favoured by poets in all three periods so far considered. The 'pension' sonnet to Queen Anne in theme and approach looks back to Montgomerie and the early Castalians, as does the direct argumentative approach of the reply to Craig. The wordplay sonnets on Alexander's Monarchicke Tragedies and Craig's Poeticall Essayes are of the sort popular in the Petrarchan period when puns were fashionable. The two sonnets to James on the other hand are based on a single conceit and so may

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1. Ibid., p. 170.

2. Ibid., p. 175.

be termed metaphysical. Ayton's verse is in some senses the meeting place for many poetic worlds, and this is perhaps most noticeable in his occasional poetry.

Ayton in his three historical sonnets introduces a new type of sonneteering to the Scottish scene. Based on the death of Bruce, the gunpowder plot and the fall of Thomas Murray, Provost of Eton, they are among the finest examples of Scottish sonneteering. Each of the events has a clear Scottish bias, as two Scottish kings and a Scottish courtier are the main characters. They are further notable for that same formal unity which characterizes all of Ayton's verse.

The technique by which this unity is achieved however is different. The unity of logical argument progressing by quatrains and that of the single conceit are rejected. They are replaced by what may be termed a unity of background. Just as novelists like Hardy or Dickens give their works continuity of tone by repetitive reference to particular landscapes, so Ayton achieves a similar effect in these sonnets. In S 24 for example, the Tweed meanders its way through all fourteen lines, imparting through its quietness and melancholy just that bitter-sweet misery which attends the memory of one long dead, but never forgotten. The Tweed indeed is "the Trinchman of our mone", its quite, lazy rippling epitomising the poet's subdued, almost lethargic grief roused by the thought of Bruce's death. In such works it is the tone which is of primary importance, a tone created by intelligent use of background. Thus, just as the Tweed evokes an atmosphere of quite melancholy, the cunning, treachery and malicious vengefulness of the gunpowder plotters is aptly set against the darkness and fieriness of Hell:

> Thus comes he downe to Plutoes pale abode,
> And there for fyre and Brimstone straight doth call.[1]

'Downe', represents the descent to the vaults beneath parliament; the darkness recreates all the evil motives behind the plot, while the sudden introduction of flame imagery symbolises the methods by which this villainy is to be put into effect. When all else is forgotten this fiery darkness remains in the memory, recreating that tone of skulking vengefulness which infuses the work.

Perhaps even more effective is the background to S 52 'Upon Mr Thos. Murray's fall'. The air of mystery and imminent doom is visually represented by the darkness of the night and the strangely frightening figure of the lone boy with his lantern, offering safe passage over "the foulness of the way". The sonnet form does not usually lend itself to intense dramatization of this sort, but Ayton like many Scottish poets proves an expert both at quick characterization and at catching the atmosphere of the occasion. The use of conversation and the change from indirect to direct speech underlines the urgency and the growing tension. In all three works however, it is the unity of tone which stands out. This is achieved mainly by intelligent use of background, showing that Ayton in his attempts at achieving formal unity is not tied down to verbal trickery or prolongation of conceit.

The historical sonnets are also characterized by a common element of mystery. S 24 laments the death of Bruce without once mentioning his name. The only clues are a reference in l. 6 to "our Captaines last farewell" and the situating of the action in

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1. Ibid., p. 172.

southern Scotland. All remains in doubt until the final couplet, when Douglas's journey and Melrose Abbey are indirectly mentioned:

> To that Religious place whose stately walls
> Does keepe the heart which all our hearts inthralls.[1]

In the same way, the gunpowder plot is described in terms of "fyre and Brimstone", of "Plutoes pale abode" and oblique references to the revolt of the fallen angels. There is no specific reference to parliament, Guy Fawkes or Catholic ambition. The reader has once again to piece together small items of evidence such as the reference to the date in the title and to Mavor in l. 1. Without these there would be no hint of the poem's true theme.

In S 52 the only clue to the nature of the incident is contained in the title. Without this we would be faced with an apparently inexplicable tale of dangerous journeys, boys with lanterns and the poet's conviction of imminent misfortune. Gullans will not even identify the central character, but he must surely be the Thomas Murray of Tullibardine whose post as Provost of Eton, Ayton so coveted. It seems likely that the poem refers to the struggle for Murray's successor and that the 'I' of the poem is not Ayton, but Murray himself. Coming to the end of his life, disillusioned with court intrigues, he needs aid no longer, but prophesies that his death (or fall) will cause great strife and disappointment:

> I cannot miss my way, but they that take
> The way from whence I came, have neede to make
> A light there guide, for I dare boldly say
> Its ten to one, but they shall lose there way.[2]

The element of the riddle is present in all three historical poems,

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1. Ibid., p. 167.

2. Ibid., p. 193.

as in 'Upon a Gentlewoman that Painted' (S 42). But the direct riddle form favoured by James and Montgomerie is replaced by the indirect approach of the early metaphysical poet. In this instance however it does seem that Ayton has expressed his disappointment at the failure to become Provost of Eton by making his predecessor prophesy the murky intrigues which would follow on his death.

Ayton's sonnets are therefore more recognizably Scottish than those of the sequence writers. European themes play a much subdued part in his output and when he does use them he either adapts them to his own outlook or follows the practice of earlier Scots like James or Craig. In addition he reintroduces the preaching tone of Baldynneis or Montgomerie, resurrects the failing interest in occasional verse and even employs gnomic comment in the manner of the 'maister poet':

> A hopeless life is Arm'd against all paine,
> It doubleth greife to hope and not t'obtaine.[1]

The riddle element also returns, and he is the first sonneteer to focus attention on Scottish history. All this he does in sonnets characterized by ingenuity of imagery and simplicity of style, unified by argument, conceit or background. On this evidence it is little wonder that Ben Jonson, Hobbes and Dryden regarded him highly. The real puzzle is why contemporary critics have not echoed their judgment.

INFLUENCES

Ayton's debt to the Castalians and Craig has partially been assessed in the previous portion of the chapter. There remains

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1. Ibid., p. 160.

only one further work which had a formative effect on his verse. This was James VI's Counterblaste to Tobacco,[1] which lies behind 'On Hope' and 'Upone Tabacco'. Himself a pipe smoker, Ayton does not share the king's wholesale condemnation of this "weed" with its "blacke, stinking fumes", but he does emphasise that it is "but smoake". This point, James had also underlined, when describing it as "all smoake and vapour, being of it selfe humide, as drawing neere to the nature of the ayre". By comparing tobacco smoke to the airiness of hope, Ayton also emphasies its uselessness and transience, drawbacks previously highlighted by the king.

Apart from the somewhat specious links between the 'Of Hope' sonnet and Desportes' Diane II, 23, based solely on similarity of theme, there are only three possible French borrowings in Ayton's work. The first is doubtful, but it seems possible that his reply to Craig, defending the gloominess of his muse may have stemmed from Ronsard's Nouvelle Continuation des Amours and in particular the chanson beginning:

> Je ne veulx plus que chanter de tristesse,
> Car autrement chanter je ne pourrois,
> Veu que je suis absent de ma maistresse:
> Si je chantois autrement, je mourrois.[2]

Both poets plead a naturally melancholy disposition and the extra pain caused by feigning merriness, although Ronsard's gloom is more directly connected with love than Ayton's.

S 21 on the other hand is definitely a version of De Porcheres'

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1. James VI, A Counterblaste to Tobacco, ed. Edward Arber, English Reprints (London, 1869).

2. Ronsard, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris, 1934), VII, 277.

oft-imitated sonnet on the eyes of the Marquise de Monceaux.[1] It should be noticed that Ayton alters the form of the original in three ways. Whereas De Porcheres rejects the comparisons between eyes and gods, heavens, suns and lightnings in the octet and adds his reasons in the sestet, Ayton devotes a quatrain to each comparison and its rejection. He thus substitutes a quatrain/couplet development for the Italian octet/sestet; improves the logic of the poem by bringing his reasons closer to their respective comparisons, and omits the rather ineffective parallel between eyes and gods, favoured by De Porcheres. As a result he transforms a rather mediocre sonnet in the Italian form into a well-constructed poem of the Shakespearean type.

The other example is S 33, 'Upone Tobacco', which is a close translation of Saint Amant's 'Assis sur un fagot, une pipe à la main'. As the relationship between these two sonnets has already been fully discussed by William Roberts in 'Saint Amant, Aytoun, and the Tobacco Sonnet', Modern Language Review, LIV (October 1959), pp. 499-506 and by Leonard Kastner in 'Saint Amant and the English Poets', Modern Language Review, XXVI (1931), pp. 180-2, little need be said here. Despite differences in imagery and phraseology, it does seem that Ayton is trying to keep as close to his original as possible. The similarity between the following quatrains may be taken as typical:

> L'espoir qui me remet du jour au lendemain
> Essaye à gaigner temps sur ma peine obstinée,

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1. This sonnet is appended to the Scottish version in the original MS. National Library of Scotland MS 2060. It is also printed in full on p. 282 of the Gullans edition of Ayton's poems.

Et me venant promettre une autre destinée
Me fait monter plus haut qu'un empereur romain.

(St. Amant)

Then hope steps in and with a smyling brow
Such chearfull expectations doth infuse
As makes me thinke ere long I cannot chuse
But be some Grandie, whatsoever I'm now.

(Ayton)[1]

Yet on the whole Ayton relies very little on the French sonneteers. With the exception of S 21 and S 33, the only influence that can be traced is of the most general kind. In S 21 itself he is clearly dissatisfied with the form and the logic of the original, so he alters parallels, reasons and their arrangement until a very different work is produced. Of all the sonneteers so far studied, Ayton is without doubt the most original.

Italian influence is no stronger than its French counterpart. A few of Ayton's sonnets derive from Petrarchan originals, but only the bare thematic link remains. 'Love's Provocation' with its emphasis on eyes and ears as the source of infatuation, carries on an idea begun by Petrarch in 'Pasco la mente d'un si nobil cibo'. The mirror conceit of S 17 was first explored in 'Il mio adversario, in cui veder solete', while the storm imagery of S 23 was popularised by 'Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio' among others. But the imitation is never close. Ayton is following a thematic tradition, rather than translating particular sonnets, and it is probable that he had never read Petrarch in the original. Sonnets of the type quoted above abounded in the works of his imitators, and one could easily drink of the Petrarchan stream without tapping its fountainhead.

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1. Saint Amant, Oeuvres, ed. Livet (Paris, 1855), I, 182. Works of Ayton, p. 174.

Only one sonnet is certainly translated from the Italian. S 20 is a translation of twenty lines from the Pastor Fido of Guarini, starting, 'Cruda amarilli, che col'nome ancora'.[1] Once again Ayton does not adopt a word for word technique. Noticeably he omits stock comparisons like those derived from ll. 3-6 of the original:

> Amarilli del candido ligustro
> Piu candida e piu bella
> Ma de l'aspido sordo
> E piu sorda, e piu fera, e piu fugace.[2]

Most later translaters have transformed 'ligustro' into lily (prop. 'white privet') and rendered 'aspido' as snake. Ayton in his attempt to steer clear of the commonplace in Petrarchan imagery ignores both. He also alters the list of natural mourners favoured by Guarini. For hills, mountains, wood, fountains and winds, he substitutes brooks, winds, hills, dales and deserts. His first pair (brooks, winds) clearly correspond to Guarini's last pair (fountains, winds) so that the order has also been changed, while he repeats all five when faced with the possibility of their silence, a device not present in the original. This alters the whole balance of the poem, concentrating more on the pessimistic side of the argument than Guarini had done. There is even a subtle alteration in the ending. Guarini talks of death reporting his martyrdom:

> E se sia muta ogn' altra cosa, al fine
> Parlera il mio morire,
> E ti dira la morte il mio martire.[3]

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1. Giovanni Battista Guarini, Il Pastor Fido, ed. G. Casella (Firenze, 1866).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

Ayton replaces martyrdom with the more romantic word 'love':

> Yet when they dumbe, thou deafe to me shall prove,
> My death shall speake and let the know my love.[1]

His version lacks the lightness, the purely lyrical quality of the original, but he has overcome most of the difficulties inherent in translating from one poetic form into another, and produced an effective if somewhat workmanlike sonnet.

Although it seems probable that Ayton imitated some of Donne's techniques, his debts to English writers are almost non-existent. What had been 'intelligent imitation' for the Spensereans was fast becoming the sin of plagiarism so scorned by the metaphysicals. 'Love's Provocation' it is true bears more than a slight resemblance to Daniel's 'Oft and in vain my rebel thoughts have ventured', both as regards the theme of the senses' treachery and the warfare imagery used to express it. But no direct connection can be definitely established. Also his major alteration to the De Porcheres' sonnet may have had a Spenserean origin. It was pointed out that he placed each comparison next to the reason for its rejection instead of first listing comparisons and then reasons. The former was the method employed by Spenser in Amoretti 9, when trying to describe his lady's eyes:

> Long-while I sought to what I might compare
> Those powrefull eyes, which lighten my dark spright,
> Yet find I nought on earth to which I dare
> Resemble th'ymage of their goodly light.
> Not to the Sun: for they doo shine by night;
> Nor to the Moone: for they are changed never ...[2]

Spenser goes on to list eight possible parallels and the reasons for

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1. Works of Ayton, p. 164.

2. Spenser, Poems, ed. E. de Selincourt, p. 564.

their inadequacy. In each case parallel is followed by reason, and Ayton may well have read this sonnet and seen the advantages of Spenser's technique.

Ayton's debts to others are small. He is influenced indirectly by the early Castalians and by Craig, while James's Counterblaste to Tobacco draws from him the two sonnets on that subject. The master sonneteers of their respective countries, Ronsard, Petrarch and Spenser each make a small contribution to his verse, but even this is of the most general kind. Indeed the only major influences are those of Guarini on S 20 and De Porcheres on S 21, sonnets which cannot certainly be ascribed to the poet. Ayton marks not only the movement from Spenserean to metaphysical but from imitation to originality. With him the sonnet ceases to rely on the past for inspiration, except of a historical kind. At the same time it begins to grapple with problems of a magnitude at odds with its limited fourteen-line form. Donne's type of poetry, in which thought forges rhythm, is opposed to rigid metrical, linear and rhyming demands. Ayton, by following Donne, however hesitantly, begins a movement of dissatisfaction against the sonnet in Scotland. In his own works the song and longer stanzaic poetry vie with it in popularity. Its long period of primacy, its rigid form and its reliance on traditional ideas all tell against it in the prevalent poetic climate of innovation, ingenuity and invention. Ayton's sonnets are unusual because he is trying to embody new ideas in an old form. They are not wholly satisfactory because the two fit unhappily. His is a brave and often talented effort, but it is doomed to failure. Poetic forms must rise and fall in the scale of popularity if

stagnation is to be avoided. The sonnet had had an unusually long run and its hey day was almost over in Scotland as elsewhere.

STYLE

Ayton in style as all else is a transitional figure. His use of gnomic comment in imitation of Montgomerie has already been noted, while he also follows the earlier poet's love of compound words - pompe-expecting (26/2), self-deceaving (27/3), birthstarr (31/13) and aftergame (44/4). In some ways too he returns to the pulpit style of Robert Bruce, which had so influenced the early Castalians. Into this category falls his frequent use of repetition. This is not simple initial repetition of the type favoured by Fowler, but used to mark off the separates stages of a logical argument, as in S 19:

> Can Eagles birds fly lower then there kinde,
> Or can Ambition stoope to servile gaine?
> Can free borne breasts be fore'd against there minde
> To put the Maske of love upone dissdaine?
> Can love be bought, can Avarice constraine
> Greate Cupid to do homage unto gold?[1]

This quotation in a way sums up the main Castalian elements in Ayton's style. There is the clear logical development of Bruce's sermons underlined by two of his most popular techniques, the repetition of 'Can ... or' and the question/answer approach. To these must be added a love of triads, possibly inherited from Montgomerie:

> Weepe eyes, breake heart, and you my verse be dumbe (S 18)
>
> Say that hills, vailes, and deserts would disdaine
> T'acquaint thy deafe disdaines with my disgrace (S 20)[2]

use of proverbs and frequent resorting to compounds. Not only the

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1. Works of Ayton, p. 163.

2. Ibid., p. 162 and p. 164.

themes of James's 'Castalian band' make a welcome return in Ayton's verse, but their stylistic tricks also regain popularity.

Petrarchan devices however are not ignored. The paradox for example is specially suited to Ayton's complex arguments. It is most often used in the final couplet to round off a lengthy conceit as in S 16:

> Then left those lynes to tell her on a tree
> That she made them to live and mee to dye.[1]

When a poet argues himself into a position of no return as Ayton frequently does, the only way of finding a solution is through paradox, and it is because of this that other examples can be found throughout his work. Antitheses on the other hand are even more popular, for if the conceits lead to a point of no return, they usually arrive there via a process of balancing one idea against another, stylistically represented by antithesis. The final paradox in S 15 for example is only reached after the poet has weighed both hope and despair in the balance of his judgment:

> For me, I rather cherish true dispaire
> Then entertaine such hopes as doe betray me.[2]

Contrariwise the poet may emerge out of paradox into antithesis, out of dubiety into a careful weighing up of each quality's claims, as in S 17:

> For who soe loves her not, that heares or sees,
> Is neither worthy to have eares nor eyes.[3]

The frequent usage of both figures however betrays the mind of a

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1. Ibid., p. 161.
2. Ibid., p. 160.
3. Ibid., p. 162.

man, who is awake always to the complexities, contradictions and counterclaims of every problem with which he is faced.

His interest in unlikely relationships between objects and ideas has often a stylistic basis in the form of wordplay. The whole effect of S 42 depends on the double meaning of 'painting', while reference has also been made to the pun on 'Craig' and the gamut of meanings assigned to the single word 'monarchick'. Further examples do occur, the best perhaps being contained in 11. 11 and 14 of the 'Tweed' sonnet, S 24:

Till his high tydes these flowing tydeings tell

and

Does keepe the heart which all our hearts inthralls.[1]

Ayton is never content to work on a single level of meaning, when deeper connotations occur to him and it is a natural extension of the multiple viewing implied by conceits to be aware of the various substrata of verbal significances. Wordplay can therefore be directly connected with the poet's metaphysical inquisitiveness and desire to link the thematically unlinkable by means of sound.

Ayton follows Alexander and Murray by writing in English. He is much more proficient in this medium than either of them, so we may suppose that the gap between Scots and the English spoken at court was growing smaller. In retaining Petrarchan stylistics he is not opposing metaphysical trends. It is not well enough realised that while Donne and his followers mocked Petrarchan conceits, they adhered to many of the favourite Petrarchan devices of rhetoric. Antithesis, paradox and wordplay all lend themselves

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1. Ibid., p. 167.

to a poetry of enquiry and discovery. They aid a writer in weighing one idea against another, in resolving complex problems and in probing unusual interconnections. Donne as well as Ayton used all three frequently, but adapted them to the new type of poetry he was writing.

What separates Ayton from the metaphysical movement in England is his awareness of the Scottish tradition. From the Scottish preachers and the Castalians he inherited a logical, explicit approach, which Donne rejected. Ayton has many daring parallels and conceits, but he must explain them as if to a simple-minded congregation. He never leaves questions unanswered as Donne does. It is this trait too which keeps comparison and object compared separate in his verse. They never fuse into a new entity created by the poetic imagination. The illustration remains a means of explaining the idea, instead of becoming part of a new truth through fusion. This was the method of Robert Bruce, of James VI and Alexander Craig. Ayton never frees himself from it. He advances by controlled argument rather than by the power of associations and there is little of the emotional force of Donne's passionate rationality. The thought does not forge the rhythm and there are few of Donne's typical enjambements. The mixture of passion and reason is present but subjugated to technique. The complex ideas are present, but more formally presented, and progression made through explanation rather than association. The unusual conceits are present but idea and comparison retain the relationship of parallel lines. These modifications in many ways resemble those made by the Caroline poets, but one can also regard Ayton as a Scottish metaphysical. The alterations he makes to Donne's approach are

those one would expect from a follower of the Castalians and from a Scottish Protestant. Viewed in this way, Ayton is one of the most successful of Scottish sonneteers. His imagination, mastery of rhetorical techniques, probing intellect and capacity for moulding passion to thought make him a worthy companion of Jonson and Donne. He is the first Scottish sonneteer to side with 'the tribe of Ben', but he does this while retaining his Scottish invidivuality.

SIR WILLIAM MURE

BIOGRAPHY

Sir William Mure was one of the most accomplished members of the Rowallan family and himself composed a Historie of Rowallan. Its authority can be questioned when dealing with earlier periods in family history but when treating events and personalities within its author's lifespan, it is wholly reliable. Of his grandfather the poet writes:

> This Wm was of a meik and gentle spirit, & delyted much in the studie of phisick wch he practised especiallie among the poore people wt very good successe.[1]

He died in 1616, leaving three sons and three daughters. Of these, the eldest, William, succeeded and later married Elizabeth Montgomerie, sister of the poet Alexander Montgomerie. William Mure was the eldest child of this match.

Of the poet's early life little can be gleaned. He was born in 1594 and it is more than probable, as Tough suggests, that he went on to study at the Parish School in Kilmarnock. There is much indirect evidence to suggest that he later attended Glasgow University. His brother Hugh for example enrolled there in 1618 and the poet himself had close connections with Robert Boyd, Professor of Divinity and Principal there from 1615 till 1621. Not only did he translate that gentleman's 'Hecatombe ad Christum Servatorem', but he also borrowed money heavily from the Professor's cousin Zacharias Boyd. When Boyd died he instructed that the money when repaid,

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1. The Works of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, ed. William Tough, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1898), II, 255.

"be imployed for building on newe buildings in the said college". The bonds were not immediately redeemed and as a result the Rowallan estate contributed for many years to the building and upkeep of the High Street frontage of the old Glasgow College. Certainly Mure's extensive knowledge argues for a period of advanced education, and all the available evidence, historical and geographical, points to this being gained as Glasgow.[1]

Like most Lairds of Rowallan, Sir William married young and set about producing a large family. In 1615, at the age of twenty he married Anna Dundas, daughter of the Laird of Newliston and settled at Dalmusternock, not far from the Rowallan grounds. From this match there came five sons and six daughters, although only one of the girls survived. On Anna's death he followed his father's example and remarried, this time allying himself to Dame Jane Hamilton of Duntreth. Two sons (James and Hugh) and two daughters (Jean and Marion) resulted. Despite prevalent rumours that Anna Dundas died of excessive childbearing, Mure seems to have been a dedicated and kindly family man.[2] Certainly, till he succeeded to the lairdship he busied himself solely with domestic matters, music and poetry. His lute book is preserved among the Laing MSS in Edinburgh University, along with a vocal MS containing a detailed index of 158 songs,[3] while the majority of his poetic works belong to the early period in his life.

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1. Ibid., I, ix-xi. See also Munimenta Alma Universitatis Glasguensis, I, 306.

2. Works of Mure, II, 87-88.

3. Lute - MS Laing 487, Edinburgh University Library.
   Vocal - MS Laing 488, Edinburgh University Library.

With the death of his father in 1639 this quiet, cultured life ended abruptly. As the leader of an influential family he was expected to take an active part in Scotland's politics. His religious beliefs led him to participation in covenanting exploits. In the first year of his lairdship he was present at the Dunse Law assembly, while recent excavations at Old Rowallan Castle have revealed a secret escape route from what must have been a conventicle room. He was a staunch covenanter all his life and even a few years before his death was aiding the cause. On the 5th of July 1642 his constant protests against the increase of Catholicism in Ayrshire were recognized and the following deed was authorized on his behalf by the Privy Council:

> the right to pas, searche, seeke and take all and sundrie jesuits, seminarie and messe priests and excommunicat trafficqueing rebellious papists, quhair ever they may be apprehendit.[1]

An intensely religious man, he was one of the bulwarks of protestantism in Ayrshire, as well as being the only Scottish sonneteer, whose works are primarily religious in theme.

His connections with Parliament too began just after his accession to the lairdship. In September 1641 the Scottish parliament appointed him to a commission for hearing the accounts of Monro Cochrane and Lord Sinclare. A month later he found himself on a second committee, enquiring into the expense accounts of the Commissary General. This type of work appealed to him and in 1643 he was returned as member of Parliament for Ayrshire along with

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1. R.P.C.S. (1638-43), 2nd series, VII, 291. This was only a continuation of the rights granted to his father in 1634. See Reg.Sec.Sig., (1634-51), IX, No. 28.

Fullarton of Crosbie. This was the period when opposition to Charles was growing among English parliamentarians, and Rowallan served on a committee to investigate rumours that Scottish members were also plotting against the crown. The Earl of Carnwath who made these allegations certainly judged the political climate correctly for on the 29th of November, Scotland declared itself wholeheartedly on the side of Parliament. The Scottish parliament undertook to provide an army of 18,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and 1,000 dragoons. In return they were promised £30,000 for maintenance. Thus was formed the Army of the Covenant, with Mure being responsible for levying the Kyle and Carrick regiment.[1]

The English however failed to fulfil their side of the bargain and Mure was one of the Scots who complained formally in January of the following year. If more money and equipment were not forthcoming, the Scots would withdraw. He did however serve at the siege of Newcastle, on the evidence of a letter written to his son before hostilities began, and probably fought at Marston Moor and York, the main battles involving the Kyle regiment.[2]

When the campaign of 1644 ended, the Scottish army encamped in Northumberland and Durham. Mure almost certainly returned home to look after his estates, the upkeep of which had troubled him even before Newcastle:

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1. Acts of Parm of Scotland (1625-41), V, 355, 371; (1643-7), VI (I), 4, 6, 29. Thurloe State Papers (London, 1742), I, 29. "The Army of the Covenant", Scottish Historical Society, 2nd series (Edinburgh, 1917) XVI, xxxiii.

2. History of Rowallan, ed. Rev. William Muir (Glasgow, 1825), p. 137 (Appendix G).

> I have writen to Adame Mure to whom yee shall also speake and requeist that he must tak the whole cair and chairge of my harvest and stay constantly at my house for that effect and I will sufficiently recompense his paynes.1

The Scots were angry at the failure of the English to provide adequate food and pay for their soldiers and at their refusal to establish ecclesiastical uniformity. When the New Model Army was formed in February 1645 and Fairfax demanded Scottish aid, Mure was one of the Scottish M.P.'s to advocate a compromise:

> That a pairt of the foirsaid great Comittie of estates abovenamed remaine with the Army in Ingland And ane other pairt with the Army within the kingdome and ane third pairt therof to stay at Edr. (Edinburgh)2

Only Leven's regiments marched south. Mure's own sympathies with the parliamentary cause were partially estranged. His support had been based on a desire for religious conformity and as this stipulation had not been fulfilled he grew more and more sympathetic to Charles.

He was re-elected to the Committee of War on the 2nd February 1646, but played only a minor role in its deliberations. Some time during this haggling period prior to Charles's death, when the Scots tried to barter their support for the crown in exchange for religious concessions, Mure wrote a personal plea to the king:

> The set tim's come
> For Christ, in your Dominions to make rowme.3

The fact that it had not been published by the time of Charles's

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1. Ibid.
2. Acts of Parm. of Scotland, VI (I), 382.
3. Works of Mure, II, 31.

execution suggests that it refers to the final abortive attempt of 1648, rather than the treaty of December 1647. Certainly, like most Scots, Mure was adamant on Charles's relaxing some religious strictures, but even more outraged at the eventual execution of January 1649. 'The Cry of Blood', published in 1650 expresses adequately his attitude of stunned horror and disbelief:

> What horrid Actings force unwilling ears
> With worst of news? do fancies and fond fears
> Mock troubled minds? or doth a reall blow
> For preface passe to Albion's overthrow?
> Have Parricias, professing Brother-hood,
> Put hand in Caesar? shed his Royall Bloud?[1]

After this disillusionment Sir William retired from politics. He did not however spend the rest of his days peacefully, as Tough suggests in his introduction to the Scottish Text Society edition of the poems. Two pieces of evidence contradict this assertion. The first is a letter written by 'Sir William Mure younger of Rowallan a well known Covenanter, and a friend of the famous Mrs James Guthrie. To his father the poet'.[2] It is dated 13th October and lays out plans for a Covenanting rising later that year. Mure the elder seems prepared to raise 2,000 men while his son has provided suitable ammunition and concealed it at a meeting place in the Kilmarnock hills. Whether this action is the same one as that referred to in Robertson's Principal Families of Ayrshire,[3] one cannot say, but it seems likely. In 1650 a band of Covenanters attacked the Castle of Drumlanrig and in the 'Roole of Remonstrators', the poet's name

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1. Ibid., p. 33.

2. MS Laing II, 188, Edinburgh University Library.

3. G. Robertson, Principal Families in Ayrshire (Irvine, 1825). See "House of Rowallan".

is ninth. As fourteen Presbyterian ministers conclude the list and Drumlanrig's anti-covenanting sympathies were well-known, one may justifiably deduce this to be Mure's final act of defiance in support of covenanting principles.

Mure's life was divided between religion, politics, family duties and the arts, with now one assuming priority, now another. It ended in 1657 when the poet was sixty-three. Along with Drummond he was the only later Scottish sonneteer to avoid the London court and direct contact with James VI. What he lost in terms of poetic popularity, he made up for in security and landed influence at home. The Rowallan estates passed into the hands of his son William. This youth continued the covenanting traditions and was indeed imprisoned for his beliefs in Stirling Castle. In poetic and administrative abilities however he did not match his father, who was one of the most memorable lairds in a powerful line:

> This Sr Wm was pious & learned, & had ane excellent vaine in poyesie; he delyted much in building and planting, he builded the new wark in the north syde of the close, & the batlement of the back wall, & reformed the whole house exceidingly. He lived Religiouslie & died Christianlie in the year of his age 63, and the year of our lord 1657.[1]

ATTITUDE TO LOVE

In Mure's poetry the love of man for woman is only discussed in nine sonnets out of fifty six. Love sonneteering in Scotland therefore has come full circle, passing through a period of immense popularity in the day of Fowler and Alexander. Mure, however, unlike James or Baldynneis, is not interested in occasional verse, and

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1. Works of Mure, II, 256.

indeed only one of his sonnets is occasional in nature. For the first time, moral and religious themes become predominant in the Scottish sonnet, accounting for forty six of Mure's efforts in that genre. He is in fact the only major Scottish religious sonneteer in this period, composing three religious sequences - Fancies Farewell, Spirituall Sonnets and The Joy of Tears. It is therefore a valuable and not wholly distorting way of looking at the sonnet in Scotland to view it as a movement from occasional topics to love and then to moral and religious themes.

Mure's love poetry is at best mediocre. He is versed in the stock Petrarchan attitudes, and indeed so dominated by them that his nine sonnets really consist of variations on six main themes. His lady is "more chest then fair Diana" in S 1 and excels Cynthia (Diana) in S 5. Her beauty is celebrated in S 1, S 2 and S 6-9, usually with the aid of stock Petrarchan comparisons like rose, lily and Phoenix. Indeed so great is this beauty that fame is incapable of truly reporting it. In S 1 "to eternize ye fame hath endeuoired". By S 6 the implication of failure has become explicit:

> Bot now I fynd Fame too, too niggard is,
> Or thy deserts above hir reach aryse.[1]

Only the poet in his verse can "hir rair ingyne In tyme's immortal register enroll", a solution offered in S 8. Outside the concepts of her chastity, beauty and fame, Mure's Margaret has little existence. In the same way the poet is defined by his grief, his loyalty and his captivity. In S 2 he sees "fortune froune" and

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1. Works of Mure, I, 52. The early sonnets are numbered as in Tough and preceded by S. Spirituall Sonnets = SS; Fancies Farewell = FF; Joy of Teares = JT.

finds scant comfort in the thought that "no greiff can death impairt". One sonnet later his situation is identical:

> My constant hert no tortour sall remoue,
> Thoght duilfull death and frouning fortoune threat,[1]

while S 4 finds him still bemoaning his "endles woes". He is at once the epitome of Petrarchan misery and loyalty, for despite all suffering his faithfulness is never in question, a sentiment expressed in S 2, ll. 6, 13; S 3, ll. 1, 9; S 4, ll. 8, 14; S 5, ll. 13-14; and S 7, l. 6. Inevitably too he is held captive by Petrarchan snares in S 4 and S 9, while in S 5 he laments his lost liberty and awaits the judgment of his chaste goddess:

> At liberty befoir, alace! now tyed,
> I live expecting my Dianais doome.[2]

The lady's beauty, chastity and fame; the poet's grief, loyalty and captivity:- held more firmly captive by these Petrarchan tenets, than he ever was by love of Margaret, Mure's amatory verse soon repeats itself into extinction.

Even phraseological echoes occur between one sonnet and another. The "more chest than fair" of S 1 is recalled by another dubious compliment, "mair rair then fair" in S 2. The "miraculous, machles Margareit" of S 1 is still "Mairgrait ... machles in ye same" one sonnet later, while the poet appeals to "my puir eyes" in both S 3 and S 4. There is no suggestion that these phrases have any linking purpose, nor that Mure is following the rhetorical device of "varius sis sed tamen idem" as Baldynneis had done. These sonnets are the unskilled efforts of a young poet, unthinkingly following a dying

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1. Ibid., p. 49.

2. Ibid., p. 51.

tradition, already fully explored by others. The conceits and ideas are already forged, and by rearranging the order slightly any poetaster could produce a dozen or so sonnets of the type Mure had written. This short, wholly uninspired group of Petrarchan sonnets represents the end of that great tradition as a force in Scottish sonneteering.

Mure's group of love sonnets are therefore much inferior to Ayton's, although certain similarities between the two do exist. Both share some Petrarchan attitudes. Mure like Ayton tends to side with the sensual, degenerate side of Petrarchanism in S 6-9. The last quatrain of S 6 for example is strongly reminiscent of the Ronsardian attitude to love:

> Thryse happie he quho may the rosis taist,
> And pull the lilies of those cheeks so quhyt.
> But those fayre brests' rype clusters quho myt presse
> Wt Jove may well compair in happines.[1]

The imagery, but not the sentiments expressed is Petrarchan, and it seems that Mure too is aware of the poetic limitations of a platonic affection. The final sonnet of the group, with its emphasis on the senses and the power of physical beauty confirms this finding:

> In bewty, (loue's sueit object), ravischt sight
> Doth some peculiar perfectioun pryse,
> In which most worth and admiration lyes,
> The sensses charming with most deir delight.
> .....
> Eyes lovely broun, broun chastnut color'd hayre
> Enflame my hart, and sensses all ensnair.[2]

This sensual type of Petrarchanism was extremely popular, and poets seemed oblivious to the contradictions between it and the Italian's

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1. Ibid., p. 52.

2. Ibid., S 9, p. 55.

pure love for Laura. Mure's mixing of the two types in his group of sonnets should not be seen as a rejection of pure Petrarchanism, but as another example of his unthinking obedience to prevalent traditions in poetry.

He also indulges in obscenity in the final couplet of S 8. Having claimed that he is inspired by the lady alone, he pleads:

> Since thou of me hath maid thy poet, then
> Be bold, (sueit Lady), to imploy my pen.[1]

The word 'pen' was frequently used as a pun for 'penis' in Elizabethan times, and it seems likely that Mure so intended it here. It must be remembered that his devout religious poetry was much later than this sonnet, and that a strong sensual note has been detected in some of his other amatory verse. If this is so, Ayton's love poetry and Mure's come even closer. They both adhere to the degenerate Petrarchan tradition, with sensual undertones, occasionally descending into obscenity. Why then is Ayton's immeasurably superior?

The answer is that Mure introduced few metaphysical techniques into his love poetry, these being reserved for his religious verse. The one exception is in S 5 where the legend of Acteon's punishment by his hounds is used to illustrate the poet's own fate. Like Acteon he caught a forbidden glance of his lady and at once fell in in love. Just as the mythological figure was torn apart by his dogs, so Mure is destroyed by the force of his own emotions. The technique of vivid legend and particular application is that so frequently favoured by Alexander Craig and adapted by Ayton. Mure

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1. Ibid., p. 54. The frequency of obscene puns in earlier Scottish sonneteering strengthens this conjecture.

uses it clumsily, but this remains the only faintly metaphysical sonnet among his amatory verse. Usually he returns to well-worn Petrarchan themes. In S 8 he produces yet another version of the plea that his only inspiration is the lady, an argument more effectively advanced by Alexander in AUR 42. Like Fowler, when all else fails he finds refuge in a list of trite comparisons:

> Bright spark of beutie, paragon'd by few;
> Unspotted pearle, qch doth thy sex adorne;
> Loadstar of loue, quhose puir vermilion hew
> Makes pale the rose and stains the blushing morne,[1]

or like Baldynneis in a list of colours:

> Some eyes adoir, lyk stars, cleir glistering bright;
> Some, wrapt in blak, those comets most entyse;
> Some ar transported wt pureayn dyes,
> And some most value greene about ye light.[2]

In short, whereas Ayton looked forward to the metaphysicals, Mure looked back to the worst examples of Petrarchanism; where Ayton used imagination and intellect to forge striking new conceits, Mure accepted those old models, which were easiest to imitate.

Ayton and Mure therefore represent the two paths the love sonnet could take after the lengthy period of Petrarchan enthusiasm. Inheriting a ready made philosophy of love, complete with ideas, images and style, but widened to allow greater sensuality, they could either adapt it to the more realistic and intellectual type of poetry which was now becoming popular, or imitate unthinkingly a decaying tradition. Ayton took the former path, while Mure regrettably chose the latter. It is fortunate indeed that his

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1. Ibid., S 7, p. 53. The parallels are also common Petrarchan ones.

2. Ibid., S 9, p. 55.

religious poetry is based on a different theory, for as a love sonneteer he is best forgotten.

OTHER THEMES

Like Ayton, Mure ignores many of the major European themes, but for different reasons. Ayton had been consciously rejecting those ideas which had characterized verse before the metaphysical movement. Mure, being predominantly a religious poet finds many of them inconsistent with the demands of his Christian muse. One acts from poetic, the other from religious motives, but the end result is the same - a notable lessening of European themes in the later Scottish sonnet.

Fortune, mythology, the soul and world system are the main themes, neglected by Mure, because they did not fit into his strictly Presbyterian 'Weltanschauung'. "Frouning fortune" is mentioned twice in his love sonnets, but the idea of a world force, inimical to the interests of man, conflicts markedly with Christian belief in a loving father. Consequently fortune and fate are entirely absent from any of the three religious sequences. Likewise the mythological figures of the European sonnet are pagan in derivation. They can be used by a Christian poet in his secular work, either as illustrations or as allegories, but seem out of place in religious verse. In the love sonnets therefore, Cupid is often used as a symbol for love, while the story of Acteon and Diana is employed in S 5 to illustrate the poet's misery in love. In the Spirituall Sonnets and The Joy of Teares however they are replaced by biblical characters like Lot's wife, St. Peter and Barrabas.

The other two themes are not neglected in this fashion, but

are treated differently. The soul is no longer the platonic pagan soul in which reason and passion conflict and which returns to the veil of earth trying to remember the perfections of the perfect world which it has left. The conflict is now between sin and virtue:

> Sweete Reconcealer, Thou who pardon pleads
> To sin-chargd soules, which, faynting, groane for grace,
> Thy mercie measure not with my misdeeds.[1]

Its aim is not to remember divine joys but forget temporal ones:

> O Three times happie, if the day of grace
> In my dark soule did, (though but dimly), dawne;
> If to my strugling thoughts proclaimd were peace.[2]

Indeed Mure is probably more interested in the soul than most of the European sonneteers mentioned in Chapter 3, but his definition of it is Christian not platonic; the context religious rather than amatory.

Strangely enough he frequently refers to the universe in terms of the pagan concept of divine harmony, but even this is Christianized, either by a reference to grace as in SS 5:

> Set to the key of grace, tune all my straines,

or by replacing the platonic angels by Christian God:

> Essence unmov'd, whose Word made all things move,
> Earth's pondrous Orbe midst Ayre who ballanst even,
> By Discords sweete, who tun'd the ten-stringt Heaven,
> God rich in Mercie, infinite in Love.3

Similarly the picture of an ordered creation, drawn in SS 9 conforms to the 'chain of being' and 'macrocosm/microcosm' theories, only to

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1. Ibid., SS 3, p. 302.
2. Ibid., SS 4, p. 302.
3. Ibid., SS 5, p. 303 and "Trinity Sonnet", p. 306.

deviate by introducing the Christian idea of original sin:

> A constant course, heere, Lord each creature keeps,
> Not swarving from thine ordinance their ends:
> .....
> But Many, in whom thy vive Character shynd,
> That lytle World, of all thy works a Breefe,
> Made Lord of All, of all hath most declynd
> From thy obedience. O tears! O griefe![1]

Such an alteration is only to be expected. One cannot expect a seventeenth century Scottish covenanter writing religious verse to echo wholeheartedly the ideas favoured by renaissance humanists in Italy and France. One should perhaps marvel that the poetic concept of an ordered hierarchical world should remain common to both, however much the adaptation may differ.

The elements, Nature and numerology areignored by Mure, but some comment must be made on his attitude to love with reference to Ficino's philosophy. This discussion has been reserved to this stage in the study, because it involves knowledge of Fancies Farewell and the Spirituall Sonnets as well as the love sonnets. In the last named group, Mure had emphasised that his love for Margaret had begun in the senses, charming them "with most deir delight". In particular his eyes first betrayed him into her power:

> Thy beutyes did my sensses suire suppryse,
> Or eir thy sight my ravischt eyes did blesse.[2]

Like the Ficinian lover too he learns to love during absence and begins to see the divinity in her:

> All loue, all joy, all sueitnes, all delight,
> The heawins into thoise angel's eyes haue plac'd.[3]

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1. Ibid., SS 9, p. 305.
2. Ibid., S 6, p. 52.
3. Ibid.

The sequence ends however with the poet still dedicated to a temporal love, having ascended the first five steps of the ladder, but not yet ready to turn to the divine love of God.

This stage is reserved for the three sonnets which make up Fancies Farewell, a sequence which may more properly be regarded as a farewell to love than the first real group of religious sonnets. It represents the sixth stage on the Ficinian/Castiglionian ladder, the period of introspection and doubt, which precedes the final fusion with God. The movement from one love to another is poetically marked by the adaptation of amatory images to religious themes. This is done systematically and consciously by a poet, who wants to combine the two worlds within the one sequence.

Thus in FF 1 the music of love reaches "a higher key", the wings of love are converted into "wings of immortality" and the flame of love turns into a divine fire:

> My Muse a strange enthusiasme inspires,
> And peece and peece thy flamme in smoake expires.[1]

As the fire of love is subdued, so religion's flame grows hotter in his breast and in the same way the imagery of love dies by being converted to the purposes of divine praise. For example one of the most popular of all love conceits, that of the storm at sea occurs in FF 2, but not with a lady as the haven and rescuer. God has replaced woman at the helm of Mure's ship and so it is to God he cries:

> O heavenly Pilote, I implore thine aide!
> Rescue my Soule, in danger most extreame:
> Conduct mee to thy Mercyes Port, I pray,
> Save Lord; oh let mee not bee cast away.[2]

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1. Ibid., FF 1, p. 195.

2. Ibid., FF 2, p. 195.

The image is one of love but the context is divine. So in FF 3, the image of time passing, the love image of:

> Cest exemple est pour vous: cueillez vostre jeunesse.
> Quand on perd son Avril, en Octobre on s'en plaint.[1]

is used for the problem of attaining virtue in time for salvation:

> Looke home my Soule, deferre not to repent,
> Time euer runnes: in sloath great dangers ly.[2]

The wounds of love become the wounds of sin and the greenness of damp wood, used by James to express his unpreparedness for love,[3] now illustrates man's unpreparedness for grace.

Even phrases previously used in the love poetry recur in these three sonnets, suggesting that Mure was consciously trying to link the Margaret sequence and the Spirituall Sonnets. In FF 3 he exclaims:

> Thrise happie hee takes time ere time slyde by,[4]

taking the reader's memory back to S 6. There this triple happiness had been Margaret's gift not God's:

> Thryse happie he quho may the rosis taist,
> And pull the lilies of those cheeks so quhyt.[5]

It is not certain that Mure had ever read Ficino, but his sonnets do depict a man climbing the Ficinian ladder from temporal love to its

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1. Ronsard, Sonnets pour Helene, ed. Jacques Lavaud (Paris, 1947), p. 76.

2. Works of Mure, I, FF 3, p. 196.

3. The Poems of James VI of Scotland, ed. James Craigie, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1952), II, 72. He compares his tardiness in love to "the greene and fizzing faggots made of tree". Like them he takes a while to kindle, but eventually "bursts in an appearing flame".

4. Works of Mure, I, FF 3, p. 196.

5. Ibid., S 6, p. 52.

divine equivalent. The earlier stages as described in the Margaret sonnets are not clearly defined, but all the drama of the momentous change is captured in these three sonnets of Fancies Farewell. As a love sonneteer, Mure had been unconvincing and unpassionate. As a religious sonneteer he tends to be repetitive. Only between the two worlds was he entirely at home.

The final stage of mystic communion with God is reserved for the Spirituall Sonnets. There Mure appeals that the 'vaile of darkness' may be drawn from his eyes, and urges his soul to aspire 'aboue the spheres'. His attempts meet with little success, due to the residues of worldliness, which remain with him, yet there can be no doubt that he has almost reached the topmost step of the Ficinian ladder.

The Scottish sonnet especially in its earlier days had been characterized by a preaching tone. James had opposed lax morality, Baldynneis had written sermon-sonnets on Truth, Chastity and Fidelity. Even Montgomerie had expatiated on 'The Blessed Trinity', 'The Works of God' and 'The Iniquitie of Man'. Almost all the Scottish sonneteers had at some time amassed a collection of devotional poetry or had aided the king in composing new versions of the metrical psalms. Yet Mure is the only one to write sequences of religious sonnets to vie with the major amatory groups.

If Ayton is the Donne or Rochester of the Scottish sonnet, so Mure is its Vaughan. Indeed the parallels between Mure's group and Vaughan's Silex Scintillans are so marked that an extensive comparison seems justified.

Both authors are primarily mystical in their approach to religion. They believe that life can only be lived fully once the

soiling properties of the body have been purified. They both therefore begin with a desire to transcend worldly life and attain spiritual freedom. SS 3 opens:

> But while my Sprite aboue the spheares aspyres,
> And from the World would separation make,
> Myne Eyes repyning at my Soules desyres,
> With Lot's fond Wife, relenting looks cast backe.[1]

Man can only find fusion if entirely cleansed from earthly longings, a position underlined in Vaughan's 'Ascension Hymn':

> Souls sojourn here, but may not rest;
> Who will ascend, must be undrest.[2]

The only possible answer is a spiritual purification, a movement closer to God as the perfect model. Mure therefore prays:

> Pittie my folyes past: with Sprite refynd
> So shall I praise Thee, who my paths repaird,[3]

while Vaughan, having achieved much greater progress in self-cleansing actually describes the process in 'The Starre':

> Next, there's in it a restless, pure desire
> And longing for thy bright and vitall fire,
> Desire that never will be quench'd,
> Nor can be writh'd nor wrench'd.[4]

Both too long for the ecstasies of the final moment of fusion, Vaughan in 'Cock Crowing':

> brush me with thy light, that I
> May shine unto a perfect day,
> And warme me at thy glorious Eye!

Mure in FF 1, when:

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1. Ibid., SS 2, p. 301.
2. Henry Vaughan: Poetry and Selected Prose, ed. L. C. Martin (London, 1963), II, 316.
3. Works of Mure, I, SS 1, p. 195.
4. Vaughan, II, 324.

> Mounted on wings of immortalitie,
> I feel my breast warmde with a wountless fire.[1]

Both poets therefore move from a position of dissatisfaction with their earthly condition to a desire for spiritual purification by fire, that fire being both the product of God's own all-prevailing brightness and the fury of man's divine longings.

Escape from the emprisoning surroundings of earth more frequently takes the form of transcendence through flight. In 'Chearfulness', Vaughan exclaims:

> When thy least breath sustaines my wing!
> I shine, and move,[2]

thus envisaging a state of God-aided spirituality. Being a more successful mystic than Mure he may have experienced, if intermittently, those moments of fusion for which the Scot can only hope:

> All Lets, my flight which doe empeach, remove;
> Wing my affection that in word, in act,
> From Earth sequestred I may upwards move.[3]

Escape then is achievable in two fashions, either through purification, expressed in a flame metaphor, or transcendent flight, involving wing imagery. Vaughan also shows more ingenuity in the expression of the conceits involved, not being content to leave the wing imagery in its accepted form in 'The World', but viewing by antithesis those who use no wings and so after death drift into

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1. Ibid., p. 323 and Works of Mure, I, FF 1, p. 195.

2. Vaughan, I, 259.

3. Works of Mure, I, SS 2, p. 301.

damnation.[1] Although many parallels between the poets can be adduced, Vaughan is superior both as a poet and as a mystic.

Spiritual enlightenment for both poets is a gradual process and to express this fact they need imagery which can embody the necessary growth in intensity. The image of dawn breaking is ideal for this purpose, but once again, while Mure is content to liken the presence of God to the gradual awakening of light out of darkness, Vaughan is concerned with the further dimension of time raised by the image and so envisages a situation in which the light of God may break during the dark watches of the night. How infinitely more thought-provoking is his version in 'The Dawning':

> Ah! what time wilt thou come? when shall that crie
> The Bridegroome's Comming! fil the sky?
> Shall it in the Evening run
> When our words and works are done?
> Or wil thy all-surprizing light
> Breake at midnight?

than the more conventional utterance of SS 4:

> O three times happie, if the day of grace
> In my dark soule did (though but dimly) dawne.[2]

Nevertheless the same problem is being faced by Scottish sonneteer and Welsh metaphysical, with the latter's superiority due largely to his greater advances in mystical understanding. A man who has felt complete fusion with God will express the sensation more accurately than a poor sinner longing for forgiveness. While Mure

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1. Vaughan, I, 300.

> Yet some, who all this while did weep and sing,
> And sing, and weep, soar'd up into the Ring,
> But most would use no wing.
> O fools (said I), thus to prefer dark night
> Before true light.

2. Ibid., I, 283 and Works of Mure, I, SS 4, p. 302.

and Vaughan both adopt images of dawn, fire and wing, it should not be forgotten that one is using these images to express a state partially achieved and the other to delineate his longing for participation in such joys.

More popular than the image of the dawn breaking as a symbol of spiritual enlightenment is the image of the seed, reminiscent as it is of the parable of the sower. Mure as a sinner longs that "the seed of true Repentance may be sawne" (SS 4) but fears that his long years in barren ground may make God's task difficult:

> Grant what Thou addst unto my years of grouth
> Good seed may prove, cast on more fertile plains.[1]

From the sinner's point of view, little more can be said. Fear and hope have spoken eloquently. It is left to Vaughan to expound the joys of a seed grown to fullness:

> Dear, secret Greenness! nurst below
> Tempests and windes and winter-nights,
> Vex not, that but one sees thee grow,
> That One made all these lesser lights,

or the perfect seed contained in the innocence of animalism:

> Father of lights! what Sunnie seed,
> What glance of day has thou confin'd
> Into this bird?[2]

These are ideas with which Mure has little or no concern, partially because of his ignorance of the hermetical creed on which they were based, partially because he has not yet attained to them in the imperfection of his soul. While both employ the image of the seed, one is more concerned with its being wasted on barren ground, the

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1. Works of Mure, I, SS 5, p. 303.

2. Vaughan, II, 347, "The Seed growing Secretly", and II, 322, "Cock-Crowing".

other with the extent to which the seed can flourish and illuminate one's view of God.

Both mystic and sinner on the other hand experience the dissatisfactions of imperfect communion, a state usually described through the image of the veil, particularly apposite in this case, as it suggests a covering which reveals the contours of the object hidden. It does not so much conceal as prevent perfect viewing and therefore represents the last possible barrier between the religious man and his Maker:

> Onely this Veyle which thou hast broke,
> And must be broken yet in me,
> This veyle, I say, is all the cloke
> And cloud which shadows thee from me.[1]

Thus Vaughan in 'Cock Crowing'. Mure has a heavier veil to pierce, one which all but obscures God. Nevertheless he longs for its being cast aside:

> Iffrom my eyes the vaile of darkness drawne
> .....
> ..... O then how happie were my cace![2]

The veil then in the works of both poets is intimately connected with the darkness of the soul and used to symbolise all those earthly failings which render us incapable of achieving satisfactory communion with God.

Imagery of storm with God as the eventual haven can be found in Vaughan's 'The Storm', and Mure's SS 10, while imagery of natural order appears both in Vaughan's 'Reulis and Lessons' and in SS 8 and 9. For both poets the world is ideally a comfortable, well-ordered system, which man in his imperfection can turn into a thing of

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1. Ibid.

2, Works of Mure, I, SS 4, p. 302.

chaos. Above all they share the idea that of all creation, man is isolated in being out of harmony. In 'Cock Crowing' Vaughan stresses the 'sunnie seed' of divine communion, which resides in the cock, but only to contrast it with men, who live, where 'the shades of death dwell and disorder'. This is exactly the note on which Mure concludes SS 9, using a couplet which anticipates Pope:

> Man to the angels whom thou didst preferre,
> From his Creation's end doth only erre.[1]

Finally Vaughan and Mure staunchly face up to the problem of time as expressed in the paradox between clock time on earth and eternal time in Heaven. Once again however the Scottish poet uses a turgidly logical and over-explicit approach, often seeming to lecture us in the tone of a pompous watch-maker rather than transforming the ideas into a new poetic mould. Compare the concrete imagery and primarily cerebral approach of SS 7:

> As waue doth waue so day doth day displace;
> Time's clock goes quickly: Moments swiftly die:
> The longest Age scarce doth a minut's space,
> If with eternity compaird, abyde,

with Vaughan's colloquial tone and ingenious imagery in 'The World':

> I saw Eternity the other night
> Like a great Ring of pure and endless light,
> All calm, as it was bright,
> And round beneath it, Time in hours, days, years,
> Driv'n by the spheres.[2]

Man's life compared to the eternal existence of the universe is

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1. Ibid., p. 305 and compare Pope, "Essay on Man",

> Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.
> Aspiring to be Gods if Angels fell,
> Aspiring to be Angels, men rebel:
> And who but wishes to invert the laws
> Of order, sins against the eternal cause.

2. Vaughan, I, 299.

like one grain of sand in the vastness of the desert, although the Welsh poet again uses a further dimension, that of space, in which to visualise the problem. Unlike Mure he is not limited to a single aspect of sense experience. As a result his verse has a breadth lacking in Mure, whose poetry clarifies spiritual problems, but fails to illuminate them with the light of association and interconnection.

Mure and Vaughan are thus first of all concerned with the problem of man's longing for fusion with his maker, viewed largely in mystical terms and with the shortness of his sojourn on "Earth's sad vaile". To aid them in the resolution of such problems, they use the images of fire and wing to express respectively the need for purification and transcendence, while the gradual growth in spiritual enlightenment is embodied either in dawn imagery or makes use of the parable of the sower. Complete fusion is seldom attained and man's soul remains at one remove from God's, being hidden by the clouds of darkness or covered by a veil. Indeed in a world of harmony, both Mure and Vaughan see man as alone erring from "his Creation's end". On the other hand they approach each and every problem from different angles. Mure is the sinner longing for redemption, Vaughan the mystic waiting for that final step which will bring complete communion. One is the pleader, the other the preacher; one the damned the other the saved, and to this extent their poetry represents yet another example of variations on a single theme.[1]

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1. Most of these parallels with Vaughan appear in my article "Scottish Sonneteer and Welsh Metaphysical", Studies in Scottish Literature, Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1966, pp. 240-7.

The Spirituall Sonnets are probably Mure's most considerable contribution to Scottish sonneteering. For the first time he writes in the spirit of a metaphysical and there can be little doubt that he is the herald of Vaughan. If his parallels are not so daring as the Welshman's, it should be remembered that his collection appeared twenty one years earlier before metaphysical religious poetry was popular. Moreover what Vaughan gains in mystic insight, Mure almost compensates for, through the drama of personal involvement. More people can identify themselves with Mure the sinner than Vaughan the mystic. And if the Spirituall Sonnets do tend to repeat themselves or to rely excessively on pulpit rhetoric, they are redeemed by Mure's passionate sincerity and his success in embodying the conflict between body and spirit.

THE JOY OF TEARES

This group of twenty eight religious sonnets appeared six years after the Spirituall Sonnets in 1635. They differ from the earlier group in being not primarily mystical or personal, although they do open on this note. Instead they have a historico-social bias dealing with the fight of the Covenanters against Episcopalianism. Furthermore, they demand a detailed knowledge of the Bible, not necessary for the Spirituall Sonnets. This is in accordance with Mure's belief set out in the introduction to The True Crucifixe, "that whosoever doth love to see the true purtrate of Iesus Christ out Lord, must verse Himselfe in holy Scripture except Hee will chuise to ly open to delusion".[1] In the earlier sequence Biblical

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1. Works of Mure, I, 199. "The True Crucifixe" is as much a sermon as a poem and this Mure admits. "If the maner of handling this Subject seeme to thee more proper for a Preacher than a Gentleman of my place, refuse it not for this".

references are frequent, but the mystical nature of the experience described renders them illustrative rather than essential to a full understanding of the argument.

The Joy of Teares takes the form of a dialogue between the poet and Christ. It falls naturally into three movements, the first dealing with Mure's personal guilt and so forging a link with the Spirituall Sonnets. This link is accentuated in JT 1 by the use of cloud imagery to express the imperfection of the poet's vision of God, and more especially by the echoing of the phrase 'Sinne's menstruous rags' in SS 4:

> Menstrous I am, no creature more vile,
> More foule, more filthie.[1]

As in the Spirituall Sonnets the poet is principally disturbed by a sense of guilt and inadequacy. He therefore compares himself to two guilty Biblical creatures, the Peter who thrice denied the Lord before his Crucifixion in JT 2, and the prodigal son in JT 3. It is noticeable that these men, although deviators from the true path, were both received into the kingdom through God's grace. The poet's first three sonnets are therefore also a plea for divine mercy, and it is on this note they end:

> Gainst thee alone I have made great assaults:
> Give place to Mercy, pardon all my faults.[2]

Christ's reply takes the form of an unequivocal promise of eternal life, so long as the poet continues to weep and repent. This could possibly be seen as the final mystical union for which

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1. Ibid., SS 4, p. 302 and "The Joy of Teares", Miscellany Volume, ed. C. Davis, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1933), JT 1, p. 165.

2. Miscellany Volume, JT 3, p. 166.

Mure has been seeking, the final step on the Ficinian ladder. Certainly it arouses in Mure the extremes of gratitude expressed in JT 5. This sonnet rounds off the first movement in the sequence. The poet has been forgiven those personal sins, which he expiated in the Spiritual Sonnets. Now that his own house is in order he can turn to those social problems which really occasioned this poetic outburst.

The second and main movement consists of an appeal on behalf of the Church of Scotland against the threatened restoration of Episcopacy. Mure, as was noted in his biography was an active covenanter and this problem remained close to his heart all his life. As a result he expresses the threat first of all in terms of the Ark of the Covenant:

> I have a pleasant birth, yet I must cry
> O Ichabod! O captive Ark once free![1]

The reference here is to I Samuel 4:22. I-cha-bod (pop. etymology, 'the glory is departed') was the name given to her son by the wife of Phinehas, because his birth coincided with the theft of the Ark of God. This birth in the shadow of "God's lost glory" is set beside a death, that of Eli (I Samuel 4:15). Overcome by the disastrous intelligence that the Ark had been stolen by the Philistines, he died at the ripe age of ninety eight. The loss of the Ark thus affects man in birth as in death, while it becomes clear that the Philistines represent the forces of Episcopalianism. This dual theme of the Ark and the Covenant is repeated at intervals throughout the second movement:

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1. Ibid., JT 6, p. 167.

Gods captive Ark I long to see restord (JT 10)

My Covenant I charge her to renew (JT 17)[1]

It forms one of a number of interwoven themes and images, round which Mure centres his attack on the enemies of the Church in Scotland. To his aid he brings a wide and detailed knowledge of the Bible, which is comparable with Craig's grasp of classical literature.

The second means employed is that of likening the old state of Scottish religion to holy towns and the proposed episcopalian regime to their pagan counterparts. This approach had been broached in the first sonnet of the second movement (JT 6), with the line:

Entred in Bethell have men of mischief.[2]

Bethel and Sion are most commonly used to symbolise the Scottish kirk, being set against Babel or Babylon, as in JT 9:

In Babylon upon the willow tree
My harp is hangd, for Sion I must weep.[3]

These contrasts are continued in Christ's reply, which stretches from JT 16 to JT 23. Sion and Babel are opposed in JT 16, while JT 20 introduces Hosea's favourite pun on Bethel and Bethaven:

Bethaven hath become my Bethels name.[4]

Here Mure, like Hosea, is suggesting that Bethel, the "house of God", is now the "house of idols". This contrasting of towns is perhaps

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1. Ibid., p. 169; p. 173.

2. Ibid., p. 167.

3. Ibid., p. 169. In the Apocalypse, Babylon was equated with Rome, and this adds more point to the anti-Catholic bias of the poem.

4. Ibid., p. 174. See Hosea 4:15.

the most frequently employed technique in the second movement. The Church of Scotland is condemned for siding with the forces of Babylon instead of remaining true to Sion. Only the weepers like Mure are forgiven and in the final sonnet of the second movement JT 22, a town is found for them too:

> Lot must be brought to Zoar ere I can
> Shoure down my furie upon sinfull man.[1]

It will be remembered that when God struck down the five cities of the Vale of Siddim, Lot prevailed upon him to spare Zoar (Gen. 19: 17-22). This neatly rounds off the 'towns' theme, finding a compromise between the perfection of Sion and the degradation of Babylon, as well as placing Mure in a situation reconcilable with his state of redeemable imperfection.

The frequent references to Babylon inevitably suggest sensuality and animalism, symbolised by Nebuchadnezzar's madness. This was called 'lycanthropy' by the Greeks and took the form of believing one were a beast. Beast imagery, with or without direct reference to Nebuchadnezzar, is the third leitmotiv in the second movement. Christ's first sonnet for example compares Scottish leanings towards episcopacy and Nebuchadnezzar's retreat to animal existence:

> Ungratefy hath shee gone from her first love:
> Carnall respects have caused her of late
> Forsake her crown, and the Beasts mark approve.
> Oh if she would from Babell yet remove.[2]

But throughout the movement the attack on Scottish religion is presented by animal imagery. The serpent of Rome (JT 8) has betrayed

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1. Ibid., p. 175.

2. Ibid., JT 16, p. 172.

the lambs of God; like Bashan's bulls the English try to hide the truth (JT 14), while dogs and swine possess the Lord's holy place (JT 19). In short, episcopacy will lead to the worshipping of the golden calf again, the lordship of Prince Mammon (JT 13) and sensuality in all its forms. This bestial imagery has a cumulative effect, once again reaching its peak in JT 22 where the Church is depicted in the most disgusting, bestial light possible:

> All shee hath sold unto her enemie,
> Her vomite she hath licked up again.[1]

Not only has she betrayed the covenant and chosen Babel instead of Sion, she also has become a slave to sensuality and to temporal rather than divine considerations. These are the indictments levelled against her by Mure and echoed by his Christ.

The result is a state of chaos, expressed in the disorder imagery of JT 7, one of the most successful sonnets in the whole sequence:

> True Christ is bound, thief Barrabas assoild,
> Esaw much praised, Iacob much disgraced.
> The heritage of God is all defaced.[2]

Vice and false values are honoured, while virtue is mocked, a problem which both James VI and Montgomerie had faced in their verse. Like them too, Mure looks back to the golden age in JT 22, the sonnet of Christ which gives the last word on so many themes. This time an 'ubi sunt' motif is used:

> Where is her light? her crown? her ornaments?
> Her chain of love? her peace? her puritie?

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1. Ibid., p. 175.

2. Ibid., p. 168.

Her fruitfull gardens? her fair continents?
Her rights? her seales of Life and Libertie?[1]

The state of religion as described by Mure in this movement is truly terrible. The perfection of the past is lamented in the 'ubi sunt' sonnet, the present is depicted through disorder imagery, while the future prophecies of Amos (JT 9), of Zephaniah (JT 7) and of Jeremiah (JT 13) are all ignored. The only hope proffered is that of Zoar, the small city of refuge reserved for those who bewail Episcopacy's attack on the kirk. With this ray of light the movement ends, leaving the way clear for a more satisfying resolution in the concluding sonnets.

This final movement comprises the last sonnet of Christ and the poet's four poetic comments on it. Christ confirms the hope of JT 22 by ordering the mourners to keep on weeping, promising them 'a good and gratious successe' if this policy is pursued. The power of tears is such, that 'though Dragons fret and fume' they will be helpless in their attempt to overthrow God's kingdom. The reference here is clearly to the dream of Mordecai in the twelfth book of apocryphal Esther, which was included in that ~~gospel~~ book in the 1611 King James Bible. Mordecai dreamt that "two great dragons came forward, both ready to fight against the nation of the righteous. And behold a day of darkness and gloom, tribulation and distress, affliction and great tumult upon the earth! And the whole righteous nation was troubled; they feared the evils that threatened them,

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1. Ibid., p. 175. Compare the rhetorical questioning of the Old English "Wanderer",

"Hwaer cwom mearg, hwaer cwom mago? Hwaer cwom maþþumgyfa?
Hwaer cwom symbla gesetu? Hwaer sindon seledreamas?"

and were ready to perish. Then they cried to God; and from their cry, as though from a tiny spring, there came a great river, with abundant water; light came, and the sun rose, and the lowly were exalted and consumed those held in honour".[1] In mentioning the dragons and the power of tears, Christ is reminding Mure of this dream. Just as the Jews were oppressed, so are the Scots; just as they were rescued by the tears of a loyal few, so will the Scots be. The chaos of the second movement will be swept away by the stream of repentance and the Scottish kirk restored in all its glory. The first quatrain of the introductory sonnet too refers to this dream and the capacity of a few tears to swell into a powerful force for good:

> From this one simple Herb of true remorse
> Behold what precious liquor doth proceed:
> The vertue whereof is of such a force,
> That joy in midst of sorrow it doth breed.[2]

'Tears' and their cleansing force, with direct reference to this dream, are the unifying element in the sequence. It is indeed ironical that Mure, with his reverence for the divine word as contained in holy scripture, should find his message of hope in a Greek addition to the only book of the Bible which contains no mention of God, but such is the case.

That the poet understands Christ's allusion is made clear in JT 25, where he takes up the story of Esther and Haman:

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1. Apocryphal sources were quite popular in early Scottish poetry. "The Pistill of Susan", Scottish Alliterative Poems, ed. F. J. Amours, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1897), pp. 172-87 is based on Daniel Chap. 13 in the Vulgate. This chapter was also relegated to the Apocrypha.

2. Miscellany Volume, p. 164.

Esthers example Saints encourage may.
Earnest was shee to fast both night and day:
Hamans great malice deeply pierced her heart.[1]

He has learned that the weak, with God's aid may overcome the most awesome of opponents, just as Esther saved the Jews from the might of King Ahasuerus (JT 26). Thus the sequence ends with the counsel, that men should place their faith in God's strength, rather than the might of men. Only thus will "the Truth oppresst" gain "a blessed end",[2]

As a whole the sequence impresses with its movement from personal guilt to the attack of the episcopacy on the kirk of Scotland, finally resolved through faith in the strength of a repentant minority. This movement in thought is underlined by changing imagery. The single guilty figures of Peter and the prodigal son, give way to imagery of the Ark, of cities, bestiality and disorder in the second movement. Then the story of Esther and Mordecai's dream are introduced as a solution, continuing the leitmotiv of tears which unifies the whole sequence. In conception The Joy of Teares is admirable. In execution, it is less successful. The sonnets appear to have been written in a hurry, perhaps because Mure wished them to be in print while the episcopacy problem was still controversial. Whatever the reason, the metre is at times suspect and the rhymes weak. Moreover the drama of the dialogue form is lost, because Mure and his Christ are almost always in complete

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1. Ibid., p. 177.

2. This mention of oppressed truth is an echo of the lines at the start of the work above the printer's ornament.

Since blamelesse Truth dar scarce appear,
No marvell I my name firbear.

agreement. Indeed there is a disturbing air of smugness about the poet, when he reserves a place for himself in heaven, in Christ's name. The intense inner conflict of the Spirituall Sonnets was preferable to this.

Despite these weaknesses, to which may be added the frequent use of a rhetorical sledgehammer and an addiction to abstract words, The Joy of Teares is no mediocre production. It can only be fully appreciated however if the reader can profit from the wealth of Biblical allusions and if its essentially polemical nature is borne in mind. In technique it is reminiscent of the Amorose Songes, substituting the theme of religion for love and Biblical stories for mythological legends. The metaphysical interest in unifying conceits and unusual parallels is as noticeable here as in the Spirituall Sonnets.

FLYTING SONNETS: These sonnets take us back to the Montgomerie of the pension sonnets and Baldynneis's debate between the hostess and her 'guest'. The priest described in them is a compound of Chaucer's Pardoner and Summoner. Just as the latter loved "strong wyn, reed as blood", so Mure's priest is one:

> To Bacchus great, quhose knees ar oftest bound,

and as the Summoner

> ... wolde suffre for a quart of wyn,
> A good felawe to have his concubyn,[1]

so Mure's priest suffers from venereal diseases, which he tries to stave off by eating tobacco. On the other hand, like the Pardoner, he is an excellent preacher, dwelling always on Hell so as to

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1. Works of Mure, I, S 10, p. 56. Chaucer, Works, p. 26.

frighten the listeners:

A preacher, oh! a persecuter proud.[1]

Like the Pardoner too his motives are those of gain. As Chaucer's character admitted:

..... myn entente is nat but for to wynne,
And nothyng for correccioun of synne,

so the false priest deceives and flatters in hope of gain:

False, flatt'ring, fickle, and defamed for ay.[2]

The picture which Mure presents compellingly before our eyes is that of an artful hypocrite, worshipper of Bacchus and Venus, posing as a pillar of God's church.

Above all, in these works, Mure like Baldynneis and Montgomerie, shows his ability to leap from one level of style to another with little difficulty. The same author who can rise to the high style for fanciful love conceits and adopt the middle style for earnest moralizing can equally well descend to flytings. Compared with these early Castalians however, he is labouring under the disadvantage of writing in English, and while using heavier alliteration, the forceful Scottish adjectives are denied to him. No-one will deny that:

Adulterous, double, deuilischly disposit,

although effective, lacks the forceful rudeness of:

Tak my bak chalmer for your guckit nois.[3]

Despite his closer following of flyting techniques, he is perhaps

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1. Works of Mure, I, S 10, p. 56.
2. Chaucer, Works, p. 180. Works of Mure, I, S 11, p. 57.
3. Works of Mure, I, S 11, p. 57 and Stewart, Poems, p. 181.

too much of a gentleman to vie with his predecessors in this genre. The 'vile priest' sonnets nevertheless revive a peculiarly Scottish branch of the sonnet which had almost died out in the Petrarchan period.

Other minor Scottish themes may be mentioned in passing. The introductory sonnet to Dido and Aeneas with its conformity to the humility topos takes us back to Baldynneis's sonnets to James, while the sonnet on the prattler revives Stewart's interest in slander. This rapport between Mure and Baldynneis is further borne out by S 9, 'The Power of Beauty'. Like Stewart's colours sonnet, it relies for its effect on a list of shades, culminating with the poet's particular preference, in this case brown. While Mure's closest links are with his relative, Alexander Montgomerie, the number of themes he borrows from the unfortunate defender of Redcastle should not be forgotten.

Mure then, like Ayton, either rejects or adapts the majority of European themes to his own purposes. Fortune, Mythology, the Soul and the hierarchical World System all have to be viewed in a specifically Christian context, with the result that the first two are neglected and the second two altered radically. Even the Ficinian ascent of love's ladder is heavily Christianized, although most of the stages upwards to divine communion can be traced in his verse. Like Ayton he revives interest in many of the Scottish themes favoured by the earlier Castalians and reintroduces the preaching tone of Baldynneis and Montgomerie. His religious verse, especially in The Joy of Teares is Presbyterian, with particular covenanting interests, which make it peculiarly Scottish. Likewise his interest in flyting and resurrection of a number of Stewart's themes con-

tinue the reaction against European dominance of the sonnet. Like Ayton too he revives Montgomerie's use of gnomic comment, notably in FF 3:

> Delay's attended still with discontent:
> Thrise happie hee takes time ere time slyde by
> And doth by fore-sight after-wit prevent.[1]

Both of these later sonneteers are characterized by a partial rejection of the Petrarchanism of the sequence writers in favour of the themes favoured by the early Castalians; and by their acceptance of the metaphysical trends of the day. Mure lacks Ayton's imagination and craftsmanship but his religious poetry, with its alternations from the drama of personal guilt to the breadth of mystic vision and indignation at episcopal oppression, forms a worthy contribution to the sonnet in Scotland.

INFLUENCES

Mure, like Ayton, influenced others as much as he himself was influenced. It seems more than possible that Vaughan for example had read his Spirituall Sonnets and profited from them. Certainly the forward-looking metaphysical element in the Scot's verse should be borne in mind when studying his debts to the past.

The essential 'Scottishness' of Mure's muse has been discussed in the preceding portion of this chapter and the links with Stewart commented upon. His main model however was Alexander Montgomerie, and there is some evidence to show that Mure consciously imitated the elder poet. In his early poem 'To the most hopeful and high-born Prince Charles, Prince of Wales' he calls himself the "ryt

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1. Works of Mure, I, FF 3, p. 196.

hereditar" of the master poet and suggests that he may be to Charles what Montgomerie was to James:

> Machles Montgomery in his native tounge,
> In former tymes to thy Great Syre hath sung,
> And often ravischt his harmonious ear
> Wt straynes fitt only for a prince to heir.
> My muse, qch noght doth challenge worthy fame,
> Saue from Montgomery sche hir birth doth clayme,
> (Altho his Phoenix ashes have sent forth
> Pan for Apollo, if compaird in worth),
> Pretending tytyls to supply his place,
> Be ryt hereditar to serve thy grace.[1]

Frequently the voice of Montgomerie can be heard in his verse, and it may not be a coincidence that he chose to round off his Spirituall Sonnets with a Trinity Sonnet, which echoes Montgomerie's 'To the Blessed Trinity'. Both open by addressing God as an "essence"; both develop the theme of the trinity in triads and paradoxes; one calls the earth a "ball" and the other an "orb", while both pray to God's mercy, mixing doctrine with personal petition. Indeed there can be no doubt that Mure modelled his poem on Montgomerie's original. This may not be all however. 'To the Blessed Trinity' stands first in Montgomerie's collection of sonnets. Mure's sonnet, which has exactly the same title, ends the Spirituall Sonnets, the last group written by him before becoming involved in politics.[2] Moreover there is no apparent connection between the trinity sonnet and the Spirituall Sonnets, so that the former may well be an addition. It seems possible that Mure, considering his active

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1. Ibid., p. 40.

2. Tough in his note on the Spirituall Sonnets, II, 294 underlines this point. "Their author was now drawn more into active life, and hereafter his writings are those of a man keenly interested, and taking a prominent part in the political and religious controversies and struggles of the time."

poetic life to be over, wrote his sonnet to echo Montgomerie's, and end his output on the same note as his uncle had begun.

In all aspects of his religious verse, Mure echoes the strains of Montgomerie. Like his uncle he prefers to denounce man than praise God and his description of sin's empire in JT 12 is strongly reminiscent of 'Of the Iniquitie of Man', both culminating in a plea for divine intervention. Indeed in JT 15 he seems to have adopted the advice offered by Montgomerie to M. P. Galloway. There Montgomerie had remarked:

> God is not sleipand, thoght He tholde, be sure.
> Cry out, and He shall heir the from the hauin.

This is the course followed by Mure in The Joy of Teares:

> Hear thou her not, now when shee is distrest,
> Then close mine eyes, my life I count not dear.
> Thy foes insult, O how thou dost forbear?
> And suffer them on earth to be extold?[1]

Mure's religious views are too personal and sincere to permit direct imitation but his tone and preferred themes are Montgomerie's. Personal guilt and Scotland's fall from grace; God's mercy and the glory of his ordered creation; these are their favourite topics. They share too the same forceful, rhetorical style for denouncing man and informal, almost conspiratorial tone for addressing God. This similarity is strange when it is remembered that one was a Catholic, the other a Covenanter.

Mure too revived the custom of flyting in his three sonnets against the vile priest. In so doing he continued the tradition adhered to by Montgomerie in his flyting against Polwart and in the

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1. Montgomerie, Poems, ed. Cranstoun, p. 92. Miscellany Volume, JT 15, p. 172.

pension sonnets. Indeed occasionally lines in the priest sonnets are reminiscent of these earlier flytings. The indictment in S 12:

Puir, perjurd palliard, plaged wt the parls

for example echoes one of the master poet's against Polwart:

Proud, poysond pikthanke, perverse and perjured![1]

It is sometimes wondered why a deeply religious man like Mure descended to this type of scurrilous verse. The answer, I believe, is that he wrote the flytings and the sensual love sonnets in his early days, when admiration of his uncle was stronger than that deep sense of devotion, which later grew in him. Flyting after all was not taken very seriously and in this instance it gave Mure the opportunity of at once emulating his great poetic predecessor and attacking the abuses of religious authority.

The frequent use of proverbs, so noticeable in Montgomerie's verse, also reappears in Mure. Indeed FF 3 is made up of a series of gnomic comments, held together by a somewhat loose argument on time as a destructive force:

> Looke home my Soule, deferre not to repent,
> Time euer runnes: in sloath great dangers ly:
> Impostumde soares the patient most torment,
> While wounds are greene the salve with speed apply.[2]

Like Montgomerie too he shows an interest in Plato, reviving the concept of spherical harmony in SS 5 and the Trinity Sonnet. This the master poet had done in S 2:

Concordant-discords, suete harmonious sounds.[3]

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1. Montgomerie, Poems, ed. Cranstoun, p. 63. Works of Mure, I, 58.
2. Works of Mure, I, FF 3, p. 196.
3. Montgomerie, Poems, ed. Cranstoun, p. 89.

In this realm however Mure outdoes his model. He refers to "deceaving shades" reminiscent of the simile of the line. He also comments on the reflecting of "hideous forms" (SS 1) and an ascent from "base fetters" to the brightness of God (SS 6), which suggest the simile of the cave. Plato and proverbs - these form yet another link between Montgomerie and his "ryt hereditar".

Similarities also exist in their love poetry, although they are not so striking. A comparison can profitably be made between Montgomerie's sonnet to Euphemia Wemyss and Mure's S 6. In both the image of fame's trumpet is used to introduce a poem which laments fame's inability to depict the lady in the fulness of her beauty. Also in S 49 Montgomerie makes the Margaret/pearl comparison, used by Mure in S 7:

> Thoght peirlis give pryce, and diamonds be deir,
> Or royall rubies countit rich and rare,
> The MARGARIT does merit mekle mare. (Montgomerie)
>
> Unspotted pearle, qch doth thy sex adorne (Mure)[1]

As Mure has previously named his heroine 'Margaret' he only needs to express one side of the wordplay, leaving the other implied. Perhaps however the main link between the two poets' love poetry lies in its being the weakest part of their verse. Both seem to consider love as a theme, somewhat trivial and turn gladly to satire or moralisings at which they are more adept.

It must be stressed however, that if Mure is Montgomerie's "ryt hereditar", he is by no means his "ryt imitatour". As with Baldynneis the influence is one of general themes, of tone and of attitude. Mure returns to the poetry of the early Castalians,

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1. Ibid., p. 113. Works of Mure, I, 53.

partly because of his relationship to the leading poet of that period, partly to by-pass the Petrarchan love poetry of Fowler and his followers. But, like Ayton, he adapts his findings to the demands of his personal inspiration and the poetic preferences of his period. In short, he proves a worthy disciple of Montgomerie, by following the latter's example in shunning plagiarism, while profiting from earlier writings.

Almost certainly Mure was ignorant of Italian. The Petrarchan influences on his amatory verse seem to be indirect, and no single sonnet can be assigned to a Petrarchan original. Mure of course was primarily a religious poet and his links are more properly with Michelangelo than Petrarch. Although no direct influence is postulated, he does share many themes with the Italian sculptor-poet. That repentance for worldliness and reliance on God's mercy which characterizes Fancies Farewell is broached by Michelangelo in 'Le favole del mondo' and 'Non e piu bassa'. The Scottish poet's impatience for death and final communion with his maker as expressed in SS 4 and The Joy of Teares forms the base of 'Di morte certo', while the image of purifying fire occurs in 'Non piu ch' l foco il fablo'; that of the transcending wing in 'S'avvien che spesso'. Both however share an unshakable faith in the cross of Christ and his blood, as explained by Michelangelo in 'Mentre m'attristo' and by Mure in JT 1-3. They are facing the common problem of Christian duty opposing love of the world, joy in life conflicting with a fear of death. Not surprisingly their sonnets are similar, but no closer relationship is likely.

French and English sources are almost non-existent. But Mure has one further major source, and that is the Bible. In The True

Crucifixe for True Catholiques he kindly identifies his Biblical allusions and these amount to no fewer than 558. The sonnets are not so thoroughly impregnated with scriptural knowledge, but there are far too many references to be discussed singly. Some of the more interesting will therefore be studied and the rest contained in a table.

While allusions to the parables are frequent, especially those of the sower (SS4, 5, FF 1), the prodigal son (SS 3), and the widow's mite (Dido and Aeneas Introd.), Mure specialises in lesser known incidents or characters. In the last sonnet of The Joy of Teares, for example, he introduces Demas and Diotrephes, personalities whom only the most avid Biblical scholar would recognize. The former was a companion of St. Paul (Philem. 24; Col. 4:14) during his first imprisonment at Rome. He deserted him for love of the world and went to Thessalonica (2 Tim. 4:10), thus "selling heavenly substance for earths trash" as Mure puts it.[1] Even less is known of Diotrephes, who appears fleetingly in the third epistle of John, as a pushing egoist, who refuses to accept the messengers of the apostle.[2] Only an excellent Biblical scholar would have chosen such apt yet uncommon illustrations.

The same image can have different Biblical connections in Mure's mind. The lines in SS 4

> Sinne's menstruous rags in pure transparent laune
> Were chang't ...[3]

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1. "For Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica", 2 Tim. 4:10.

2. "I wrote unto the church; but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence among them, receiveth us not", 3 John 1:9.

3. Works of Mure, I, 302.

almost certainly derive from the "menstrous cloth" of Isaiah 30:22 and the angels' "white linen" of Revelation 15:6. But the identification of the menstrual cycle with sin, which keeps recurring in his verse, derives from the taboo pronounced in Leviticus 20:18:

> And if a man shall lie with a woman having her sickness, and shall uncover he nakedness; he hath discovered her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood: and both of them shall be cut off from among their people.[1]

Mure's knowledge of the Bible is so thorough that associations often multiply round a central concept. Many of his more striking metaphysical images also come from Biblical sources.

In view of his translation of the Psalms, it is not surprising that they are one of his favourite sources. This was noticeable in the True Crucifixe especially, but it also holds true of the sonnets. The last six lines of JT 9 for example are a paraphrase of the first three stanzas of Psalm 137:

> In Babylon upon the willow tree
> My harp is hanged, for Sion I must weep:
> Yet they in scorn require some mirth from mee,
> And Hebrew songs, my sorrows are most deep.
> Let my tongue bee within my mouth ty'd fast
> If I rejoice while Sions griefs be past. (Mure)[2]
>
> By Babel's streams we sat and wept,
> When Sion we thought on.
> In midst thereof we hang'd our harps
> The willow trees upon.
> For there a song required they,
> Who did us a captive bring:
> Our spoilers call'd for mirth, and said,
> A song of Sion sing. (Psalm 137)

It is noticeable that the first seven lines also echo stanzas 7 and 8,

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1. The condemnations listed in Leviticus 20:3-21 are often cited by Mure in his religious verse.

2. Miscellany Volume, JT 9, p. 169.

while the sonnet is much closer to the original psalm than to Mure's version. Other echoes from the psalms occur in SS 5, 7 and 9, the Trinity sonnet and JT 1, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25 and 26.

The following table includes most of Mure's Biblical allusions in the religious sequences:

FANCIES FAREWELL

1: l. 2 - cf. Jeremiah 13:23 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?'
l. 3-4 - Allusion to parable of sower (Mark 4:3; Matt. 13:3; Luke 8:5), but confused with parable of the tares (Matt. 13:25).

2: l. 1-4 - Perhaps an echo of Romans 7:9 'For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.'
l. 4 - cf. Ephesians 5:16 'Redeeming the time because the days are evil'. Cf. Bishop Ken, Hymn 256 'Thy precious time misspent redeem.'

SPIRITUALL SONNETS

2: l. 4 - Genesis 19:26.
l. 9-12 - Personification or angelification of the divine virtues. E.g. Wisdom - Proverbs 8, throughout. Mercy - Exodus 25:20, 37:9.
l. 14 - Hebrews 13:21.

3: l. 3, 4 - John 8:34.
l. 6 - Sin likened to leprosy of soul, common in Christian doctrine.
l. 9 - 2 Corinthians 5:19 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.'
l. 12-14 - Parable of prodigal son. Luke 15:11-24.

4: l. 7-8 - 'Menstruous rags', Isaiah 30:22; 'transparent laune', Revelation 15:6.

5: l. 3, 4 - Ephesians 5:16 'Redeeming the time, because the days are evil'. Psalm 25 St. 7.
l. 8 - Another allusion to the parable of the sower.

6: l. 14 - Isaiah 40:7,8. Matt. 6:30.

7: l. 3,4 - Psalm 90 St. 4. 2 Peter 3:8.

8: l. 7 - Genesis 8:8,9.

9: l. 8 - Job 38:8-11.
l. 13 - Psalm 8 St. 5. Hebrews 2:5ff.

10: l. 3 - 'Second sire' = Noah. Genesis 6:14.
l. 5,6 - Crossing of the Red Sea, Exodus 14:26ff.
l. 8 - Reference to Israelites who died in the wilderness, Numbers 14:37,38.
l. 9, 10 - Matt. 14:29 (Peter walks on the waters).
l. 14 - John 11:43.

Trinity: 1. 3 - Psalm 33 St. 2; 92 St. 3; 144 St. 9 - ten-stringed instrument used for praise of God.
1. 5 - 'Light out of Light' - 1 John 1:5 'god is light' '0 life etc.' 1 John 5:11 'God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son'.
1. 7 - Isaiah 9:6.
1. 9 - Romans 15:16.
1. 10 - From the Nicene Creed (Hymn 725).

JOY OF TEARES

Introd: 1. 1-4 - Apocryphal Esther, Dream of Mordecai.
1. 11 - John 11:33-35.
1. 12 - 'mocked' Matt. 9:24, Mark 5:40, Luke 8:53.

1: 1. 1 - Job 30:17 'My bones are pierced in me'. Cf. Psalm 42 St. 10. (Trouble in 'bones' common Old Testament expression for spiritual upset.).
1. 6 - Lament. 2:5.
1. 10 - 'menstrous', Old Testament 'taboo', Lev. 20:18
2: 1. 2 - Peter and the cock-crow, Matt. 26:75; Mark 14:30, Luke 22:61,62.
1. 5 - 'Yoke', fig. Lament. 1:14.
3: 1. 1 - 2 Cor. 12:9.
1. 3 - Matt. 12:31; Mark 3:29; Luke 12:10.
1. 8 - Luke 15:11-24 (Prodigal son).
1. 9 - 1 Thess. 3:2,13.
1. 10 - Cf. Psalm 40:2.
1. 11 - Ephesians 2:14.
1. 12 - Gen. 1:26. Cf. Col. 3:10.
1. 13, 14 - Ps. 51:3ff.
4: 1. 3 - Romans 8:26.
1. 4 - Luke 22:20, 1 Cor. 11:25.
1. 5,6 - The substitution theory of atonement developed by Anselm. Still the view of orthodoxy.
1. 10 - Ps. 126 St. 5.
5: 1. 2 - Cf. Magnificat Luke 1:46,47.
1. 5 - Cf. Psalm 34 St. 8.
1. 13 - Psalm 103 St. 1,22.
6: 1. 2 - Ichabod, 1 Sam. 4:21.
1. 5-8 - Eli, 1 Sam. 4:15-18.
1. 9 - Beth-el = House of God.
1. 13 - 'filthie smoake' probably as a contrast to 'holy incense'.
7: 1. 1 - Common identification of church with Sion (or Jerusalem), here with reference to the captivity.
1. 3 - Matt. 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 18:39-40.
1. 4 - Gen. 27.
1. 8 - Judas the betrayer Matt. 26:47 et al.
1. 11 - Zephaniah - stern and uncompromising minor prophet.
8: 1. 3 - 'Cocatrice' Isaiah 14:29.
1. 5 - Gen. 11.

l. 9 - POWER of darkness, Luke 22:53; Col. 1:13. Used in plural from association with Ephesians 6:12 'principalities powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world'.

9: l. 1 - Edom - land to east of Israel founded by descendants of Esau. Enemies of the chosen people in alliance with the Chaldeans. Psalm 137 St. 7.
l. 2 - Rev. 13:3.
l. 8 - Amos - rustic prophet who denounced priestly luxury.
l. 9-14 - Paraphrase of Psalm 137, St. 1-3.

10: l. 1 - 1 Sam. 4, vide supra.
l. 5 - Tabret with pipe 1 Sam. 10:5, Isaiah 5:12.
l. 6 - Lev. 10:1.2. Repeated Numbers 3:4, 26:61.
l. 12 - Mure has in mind the harsh fate meted out to idolators in Eph. 5:5; 1 Cor. 6:9 and Rev. 21:8.

11: l. 1 - 'Saint' used in New Testament = faithful Christian.
l. 5 - Cf. Eph. 5:14.
l. 10 - Church as bride of Christ, Rev. 21:2,9.

12: l. 2 - Captivity of Joseph, Gen. 37.
l. 5,6 - Acts 20:29.

13: l. 1 - Matt. 6:24; Luke 6:13; 16:11.
l. 4 - Israelite = one of chosen - true Christian.
l. 5ff - Jeremiah and Lamentations.
l. 11 - Jeremiah 27:22.

14: l. 4 - Bashan's bulls, Psalm 22 St. 12.
l. 8 - 1 Cor. 12:27.

15: l. 1 - Isaiah 62:1.
l. 5 - Psalm 35:17 etc.
l. 9,10 - Book of Life, Phil. 4:3; Rev. 21:27.
l. 12 - Jeremiah 31:31.

16: l. 6 - Rev. 2:4.
l. 8 - Rev. 16:2, 19:20. Allusion also to Nebuchadnezzar's relinquishing of the throne due to his belief that he was an animal.
l. 9 - Gen. 10:10.

17: l. 1 - Jeremiah 31:31.
l. 2 - Isaiah 51:17,22.
l. 5 - The nation playing harlot, theme of Hosea, and common biblical figure for unfaithfulness.

18: l. 1 - 2 Sam. 21:1.
l. 3 - Matt. 10:15; Mark 6:11.
l. 9-11 - Cf. Hosea 13:14.
l. 14 - Proverbs 9:1.

19: l. 1-8 - Cf. Isaiah 26:1-5.
l. 2 - Rev. 21:18:21.
l. 4 - Cf. 1 Kings 18:29,32.
l. 5 - Song of S. 6:4,10.
l. 9 - Cf. Matt. 7:6.

20: l. 5 - Bethel = house of God. Bethaven = house of wickedness. Hosea 4:15.

21: l. 1,2 - Echo again of Hosea.

1. 6,7 - Isaiah 42:8, 48:11, 'I will not give my glory unto another'.

22: 1. 6 - Proverbs 26:11.
1. 13 - Zoar, where Lot escaped to from Sodom. Gen. 19:20-22.

23: 1. 1-6 - Apocryphal Esther, Dream of Mordecai.
1. 7 - Acts 22:11.
1. 8 - Sech. 11:1.
1. 11 - Psalm 89 St. 21.
1. 12 - Isaiah 34:13.
1. 13 - Psalm 71 St. 3 et al.
1. 14 - 1 John 2:17.

24: 1. 9 - Elisha's vision, 2 Kings 6:16.
1. 12 - Gal. 6:14.

25: 1. 6 - Psalm 78:39.
1. 8ff - Story of Esther.

26: 1. 1 - Reference is again to Esther.
1. 2 - 1 Cor. 1:27.
1. 9 - Ephesians 6:2.

27: 1. 1 - Demas 2 Tim. 4:10. Diotrephes 3 John 9.
1. 6 - 1 Tim. 6:6.
1. 8 - 1 Pet. 1:7.
1. 9 - Ishmaelites - descendants of Abraham and the concubine Hagar. Cast out by Sarah into the wilderness, Gen. 21:9-21.

Mure, like Ayton, then is primarily an original sonneteer. Notably he has no major borrowings from Petrarch, the French or the English. The Bible and Montgomerie are his two main influences, but the first merely provides a fund of knowledge and stories which he can mould into poetic form, the second a model for aspiration rather than direct imitation. Like Ayton he looks back to the early Castalians for many of his themes, but uses modern metaphysical techniques for expressing them. He continues the revolt against Petrarchanism by dismissing physical love for divine and becoming the first Scottish religious sonneteer. His religious beliefs however are so personal, so Presbyterian, and so bound up with episcopal oppression that his verse must necessarily be original. The sonnet however has its roots firmly buried in the strength of tradition. Ayton and Mure by wresting it from these roots, may in fact have deprived it of necessary nourishment. It

had become primarily a love genre in Scotland as elsewhere, despite a reluctant beginning. Could it successfully adapt itself to occasional verse, history and religion as Ayton and Mure wished, especially after so long a period of popularity? Time was to prove it could not.

STYLE

As a stylist, Mure is even more thoroughly influenced by the Castalians than Ayton. He too uses proverbs like Montgomerie and is fond of triads:

> Sole essence, lyfe and vigour of my spreit (S 7)
>
> But Ah! and buildst thou up a slipry state
> With pressing usury, with bribes, with bloode (SS 7)[1]

He too uses the question/answer approach backed up by initial repetition, especially in The Joy of Teares:

> Who would have thought she would have mee renounc'd,
> And taken uncouth lovers by the hand?
> Who would have thought her mouth would have pronounc'd
> Such damned errours, as my truth gainstand? (JT 21)[2]

It is noticeable too that if this device is used in the love sonnets the answer is always explicitly given, whereas in the religious works a rhetorical question is more popular, with the answer implied. The question is an agonized groan against the weaknesses of humanity, rather than a genuine problem requiring solution.

The voice of Scottish preachers like Bruce is stronger in the Spirituall Sonnets and The Joy of Teares than in Ayton's verse. This is scarcely surprising, when the religious themes of Mure's

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1. Works of Mure, I, 53, 304.

2. Miscellany Volume, JT 21, p. 175.

sequences are taken into account. He uses repetition much more often than Ayton and may introduce a list of repetitions in the manner favoured by Fowler:

> I gave her life, I brought her from the grave,
> I her enrich'd, I made her glory shine:
> I ransond her when she was Sàtans slave,
> I fild her flaggons with my choicest wine. (JT 18)[1]

As a result his arguments become compartmentalised and the 1, 2, 3 technique of Scottish preachers is carried on in Mure's sonnets.

He also uses the Petrarchan devices less often than Ayton, although they are by no means dispensed with. His arguments are less complex than the other's, often being merely a list of pleas to God. Despite this he too balances one idea against another:

> No paine is spair'd to gaine the name of Great,
> Pri∎de with contempt, aym'd at by few, is Good, (SS 7)

finds a solution to the apparently insoluble through paradox:

> Yit thot I die, (for sua I ewer doe,)
> Had I mo lyfes, tham sould I hazart too, (S 5)

and brings the dissimilar together by means of wordplay:

> And doth by fore-sight after-wit prevent. (FF 3)[2]

On the whole however he is less influenced by Petrarchan stylistics than Ayton and more closely allied to the heavily rhetorical Scottish prose tradition.

He also increases the use of alliteration in the Scottish sonnet, most markedly in the poems directed against the vile priest, where plosives are employed to great effect:

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1. Ibid., JT 18, p. 173.

2. Works of Mure, I, 304, 51, 196.

Presumptuous, puir, aspyring for a pin,
Adulterous, double, deuilischly disposit.[1]

This heavier use of alliteration takes us back to Montgomerie and Stewart in particular, as does the device of internal rhyming:

This Priest or beist doth weir a fylthy fame. (S 10)[2]

It was Baldynneis who revelled in internal rhymes of this sort, thus continuing the Scottish tradition as observed by Dunbar in 'Ane Ballat of our Lady' and Alexander Scott in 'I wilbe plane'. Montgomerie on the other hand was the one to popularise Spenserean compounding in Scotland and this too Mure imitates, with the "sin-charged soules" of SS 3 and the "slow-paced snailes" of SS 8 among others.

Mure's sonnets then like Ayton's may have a strong metaphysical bias, but they retain certain Scottish characteristics, which separate them from the mainstream of metaphysical poetry in England. And Mure's Scottish traits are the more obvious of the two. First of all he does not write always in English. The English Diana "more chest then fair" of S 1 becomes the Scottish Diana "mair rair then fair" of S 2 and he often retreats to Scots when rising to heights of indignation. He rebels more strongly against Petrarchan stylistics than Ayton and introduces more of the techniques popularised by the Castalians. But the two Scottish metaphysicals are still recognisably products of their time and their country. Both have a metaphysical depth of thought in their verse, yet both explain their ideas like philosophers instead of working through

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1. Ibid., S 11, p. 57.
2. Ibid., S 10, p. 56.

imaginative associations. Both retain the clearcut distinction between conceit and idea, because they still believe that the purpose of imagery is to illustrate, to clarify the original thought rather than alter it. A quotation from Vaughan may crystallise this point. In 'Cock-crowing' he uses seed imagery to express the perfect communion between God's soul and that of animals:

> Their little grain expelling night
> So shines and sings, as if it knew
> The path unto the house of light.[1]

By mixing his metaphors Vaughan suggests a fusion in which active and passive, beholder and beheld become as one. When Mure tries to say the same thing his imagery retains its clearcut lines. In humility he may ask his Maker:

> My sprit with thine inspire,[2]

but the distinction between pleader and Divinity is clearly drawn, just as imagery of sight is kept separate from imagery of taste and smell. It is this compartmentalisation between the various stages of argument and between comparison and idea that first distinguishes the Scottish metaphysicals from their English counterparts.

Secondly, they are just as passionate as the English writers, but they will not allow that passion to burst through the rigid demands of rhythm. The lack of enjambement found in Ayton appears also in Mure and indeed the retention of the strict sonnet form for the expression of metaphysical ideas is another symptom of this orderliness which dictates the nature of Scottish poetry in the metaphysical period. It is perhaps fanciful to see in this sub-

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1. Vaughan, II, 322.

2. Works of Mure, I, SS 5, p. 303.

jugation of passion to technique an expression of the Scot's more reticent national character, but the poetic fact remains even if generalisations on national traits are suspect.

Ayton and Mure take the Scottish sonnet into the metaphysical period, a time in which individuality is a prime requirement. They do so, while retaining their essential Scottishness through the retention of various ideas and themes popularised by the Castalians. Already the sonnet form has to some extent outlived its usefulness and most of the English poets have rejected it for other stanzaic forms. Just as it came later to Scotland however, so it remained the most popular genre there for longer. It is to the credit of Ayton and Mure that they successfully adapted it to the metaphysical outlook, uniting reason to passion and imagination to both. The days of the sonnet in Scotland were numbered, but these poets ensured that it made a dignified exit from the centre of the poetic stage.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WILLIAM DRUMMOND

William Drummond of Hawthornden stands in a unique position among the Scottish sonneteers. He alone has attained wide recognition, as the works of Masson, Joly and Fogle indicate.[1] As a result there is little point in retracing his life story or echoing Kastner's assessment of his source material. Instead we will consider him in the light of Scottish poetry of his day, discovering whether his work does seem "to be more at home in the English tradition than in the Scottish".[2]

BIOGRAPHY

As has been seen, nearly all the Scottish sonneteers were courtiers or landed gentry, often indeed combining the two functions. Into this pattern of upper class dilettantism Drummond fits admirably. He was nephew to William Fowler, being the son of his sister Susannah. He thus continued the interrelationship tendencies, which characterized this poetic group. His father John Drummond was an influential man of property. Descended from the powerful Drummonds of Stobhall, he was laird of Hawthornden, an estate near Edinburgh. The poet, being the eldest son suffered none of Baldynneis's disadvantages. In fact he inherited the lands in 1610, at the youthful age of twenty four, due to his father's early

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1. David Masson, Drummond of Hawthornden (London, 1873). A. Joly, William Drummond of Hawthornden (Lille, 1934). French Rowe Fogle, A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden (New York, 1952).

2. The view taken by John MacQueen and Tom Scott in the preface to The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse (Oxford, 1966), p. viii.

death. His advantage over his fellow sonneteers lay in the fact that he now found himself wealthy enough to retire. He could therefore devote all his time to those habits of reading and composing, which already attracted him.[1] He was that rare thing, a full time literary man with no need to rely on his art for subsistence.[2]

In addition, he was not disturbed by the political unrest of the time as much as the other sonneteers. James had found pressure of court business so great that his poetic contributions became sparse. Montgomerie and Mure had each taken up arms for religious reasons. Fowler, Alexander, Ayton and Murray had been involved in the intricacies of government policy, while Baldynneis found himself a victim of weak ruling. Drummond on the other hand, played throughout the role of an onlooker. Masson is probably right in suggesting that originally he sympathised with the Traquair part in the Privy Council. Their twin aims of supporting the king, while keeping the bishops firmly in their place would have appealed to his Stewart leanings and political conservatism. When this group was discredited, he despaired of politics and only wrote pamphlets counselling moderation.

The execution of Charles pierced his mood of transcendant sanity, and even then he penned an irate postscript to the event, rather than trying to prevent its occurrence like Mure. This political non-alignment, broken only by a short period of involvement

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1. Masson, p. 15.

2. It should be noted that despite these opportunities, his bursts of poetic endeavour are spasmodic and concentrated rather than continual.

in the late 30's, left time for literary pursuits. Indeed he and James were the most learned of the Scottish sonneteers, themselves an erudite band. He was one of the early students at Edinburgh University, graduating in 1605. Following his uncle's example he then went to France, where he studied law in Bourges and Paris. Sage suggests that he was a diligent legal student:

> Judicious President Lockhart, seeing, said, That if our Author had followed the Practice he might have made the best Figure of any Lawyer in his Time.[1]

On the other hand, Sage is often inaccurate and the only President Lockhart of that time would have been too young to have any information on this subject. His father's death ended his legal studies but not his voracious reading habits. According to an inventory of his library in 1611, he had 552 works. Of these 267 were in Latin, 120 in French, 61 in Italian and 50 in English. Among them were Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, Midsummer Night's Dream and Venus and Adonis.[2] To his social advantages Drummond added learning and the breadth of experience derived from travel. In all this he was perfecting prevalent trends rather than contradicting them.

It has been suggested that he lacked one necessary quality for an artist - experience. This view is vulnerable, as experience is related to sensitivity and imagination, with both of which Drummond was fully endowed. Moreover the artist's dilemma is usually not caused by lack of experience. The most confined of lives can become the basis for art. The problem arises when an artist tries to move

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1. John Sage, The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden (Edinburgh, 1711), p. ii.

2. Hawthornden MS Vol. vii; Archaeologica Scotica, Vol. iv, p. 76.

outside the limitations of his experience and describe the unknown in the language of understanding. Most important of all, Drummond's early critics have been tempted by the romantic situation of Hawthornden and its youthful, studious laird, to paint a caricature of the poet as a sort of ascetic hermit. They conveniently forget his period abroad, his legal studies and his friendships with fellow poets on both sides of the border. They forget his enigmatic relationship with Euphemia Cunningham of Barns. They ignore or are ignorant of the evidence suggesting that he had three bastard children. They forget those fifteen weapons of destruction he patented in September 1627. They forget his decision at the age of forty six to relinquish bachelorhood and marry Elizabeth Logan. Some of these events may have been tinged with romance, but the material of romance, when translated into reality is nonetheless effective in character formation. Drummond's life may have been more sheltered than Montgomerie's or Alexander's, but he was always in contact with love, suffering, hope and fear, the raw materials of experience.[1]

In terms of James VI and his 'Maecenas' ideal, Drummond comes at the end of the line, when the plan was crumbling. James himself had lost the allegiance of his poets. At the Scottish court in Edinburgh his hopes had been realised, but having promised a Scottish renaissance he had set off for England with indecent haste.

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1. See R. H. MacDonald, "Drummond of Hawthornden, Miss Euphemia Kyninghame, and the Poems", in Modern Language Review, LX, No. 4, Oct. 1965, pp. 494-9; Sage, op.cit., p. 235; Registrum Secreti Sigilli (1620-33), VIII, No. 1005. Miscellany Volume, ed. H. W. Meikle, Scottish Historical Society (Edinburgh, 1941), Series III, No. 35; Drummond's Memorials, a diary available in MS at Queen's College Dundee.

He had put Baldynneis and Montgomerie in jail, duped Alexander, opposed Ayton, ignored Craig and forgotten Murray after Prince Henry's death. It is little wonder therefore that the enthusiastic greetings for a poet/king turned into conventional praise for a fast degenerating failure. Drummond makes his contributions at this later period and they have more in common with Craig's trite praises than Baldynneis's joyful greetings of a poetic saviour.

Despite this, the idea of a Scottish school remained, although it was now centred round Alexander and Ayton rather than the king. Masson points out that although to some extent isolated, Drummond was in regular contact with Ayton, David Murray and Sir Robert Ker. His closest friend however was Alexander, whom he met in 1614. Their subsequent friendship and conversations were of great value to their art. Like Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott and Hogg, they started from roughly similar premises but differed enough in practice to make argument and the exchange of ideas possible. If anything, Drummond erred rather much on the side of hero worship. Yet what was lost in terms of critical clarity was compensated for through contact with another Scottish poet of some merit. One should not equate James's departure with the collapse of Scottish poetry. Two new groups grew up - the Petrarchan under Alexander and the metaphysical under Ayton. There was frequent communication between the members and Drummond was acquainted with the major figures in each.[1]

In England the Alexander/Ayton opposition was paralleled by that between Drayton and Jonson. As the two countries were now

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1. See Masson, pp. 22-35,

nominally joined with both courts centred in London, the poetic schools also met there. Not surprisingly Drayton and Alexander were very friendly, a fact which Jonson noted with some dismay:

> Sir W. Alexander was not half Kinde unto him (Jonson), & neglected him because a friend to Drayton.[1]

They shared that interest in Spenser and Petrarch which was anathema to Ben. His own sympathies naturally tended towards Ayton as the only influential metaphysical in Scotland. Thus it is that he takes comfort from the thought that, "Sir R. Aiton loved him dearly". Drummond comes in on the Drayton, Alexander side of the quarrel. He regularly corresponded with the former after the English poet had sent greetings via a friend, Joseph Davis, in 1618. In his letter of reply, Drummond writes:

> Though I have not had the fortune to see you (which sight is but like the near view of pictures in tapestry), yet almost ever since I could know any, ye have been to me known and beloved.

With this may be compared the critical reaction produced by Jonson's famed visit to Hawthornden. Drummond sums up his guest as follows:

> Interpreteth best sayings and deeds often to the worst: oppressed with fantasie, which hath ever mastered his reason, a generall disease in many poets.[2]

Two points arise from these spasmodic friendships. The relationship between Scottish and English poets is much closer than it had been when the Castalians relied on the makars and the French for inspiration. Writing in the same language, the Scots are treated with respect and men like Alexander and Ayton are powerful figures

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1. Ben Jonson, ed. Herford and Simpson, p. 137.

2. Sage, p. 233. Undated. Ben Jonson, ed. Herford and Simpson, p. 151.

on the London literary scene. Arising from this is the new division of groups. No longer do the Scots band together under their Scottish king, preserving their Scottish heritage. Instead the Scottish Spensereans like Drummond and Alexander unite with their English counterparts under Drayton. The non-Spensereans, Ayton and Jonson, respect each other, but condemn the opposition as reactionaries. National divisions give way to literary ones in the seventeenth century.

On December 4th 1649 Drummond died and was buried in Lasswade cemetery. He was one of the last renaissance sonneteers. With his predecessors he shared a high social position, a dilettanti approach to verse and an extensive education. But he possessed more independence, more knowledge and more time due to his comparative lack of involvement in political affairs. He therefore had a number of advantages over them, although his life lacked high adventure. He confirmed the movement away from James's court and like Mure chose to remain in Scotland. Despite this he had close connections both with his Scottish and English counterparts, friendship being determined by literary taste rather than nationality. However much his indebtedness to foreign models may be stressed he is still recognisably a Scottish sonneteer, conditioned by his time and place of birth.

ATTITUDE TO LOVE[1]

Before deciding anything about Drummond's attitude to love, the problem represented by his relationship to Euphemia Cunningham must

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1. See Appendix C.

be resolved. Most critics have seen in his love for her, the true motive power behind the amorous sonnets. French Rowe Fogle is the latest and most persistent of this group. Despite his irritating habit of calling the lady Mary instead of Euphemia, he seems to consider himself possessed of a clear insight into her love for the poet. This affection, according to him, produced the best of the sonnets:

> When read in their entirety at one sitting, the sonnets of the Poems, the First Part, clearly appear to be the story of the inception and development of Drummond's love for Mary Cunningham. It was a real attachment, and it gives to the poems a depth and intensity which lift them above the level of the conventional exercise of poetic wit.[1]

The result is, that he like Masson and Joly before him, emphasise a personal sincere note alongside the dominant Petrarchanism of the sequence.

But two discoveries render it most unlikely that Miss Cunningham inspired the sonnets. R. H. MacDonald in his article "Drummond of Hawthornden, Miss Euphemia Kyninghame, and the Poems", refers to a half sheet of the sonnet 'This Beautie fair, which Death in Dust did turnd, acquired by Edinburgh University Library in 1957. It is headed:

> In Pious Memorie
> of
> The right Worthie and Vertuous
> Euphemia Kyninghame,
> Who
> In the Prime of Her Youth
> Died the 23. of Iulie, 1616.[2]

Now, taken in conjuction with Kastner's discovery of an earlier

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1. Fogle, p. 45.

2. MacDonald, p. 494.

edition of the songs and sonnets, tentatively dated as 1614, this evidence assumes great significance.[1] For, if the lady died in July 1616, the death sonnets cannot be inspired by her, unless Kastner is two years out in his dating. And if he is, we must assume that two editions were produced within the last five months of the later year. This supposition in its turn leaves no time for Drummond to compose the death sonnets and also casts doubts on the need for a second edition so near in time to the first.

There seems no good reason for doubting the half sheet. One therefore returns to the earlier belief of Fogle and discovers it to be based on Sage, an unreliable critic, writing nearly a century after the event. The only real case for identifying Euphemia Cunningham with Auristella is the particular mention in the Poems, Part One, of a lady seen by the banks of the Ore, a river flowing near the Barns estates:

> Ora, where this Northerne Phenix stayes.[2]

It seems probable that Drummond, impressed perhaps by Sidney's example, wanted to unite convention with real feeling. He therefore used Euphemia Cunningham and the details of their meeting to give his sequence a grounding in reality. But Drummond's grief and passion as represented in his verse are imaginary. After all, he re-dedicated 'This Beautie fair which pale Death in Dust did turne' to the Countess of Perth in 1623 and this seems inconsistent with a

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1. The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, ed. L. E. Kastner, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1913), I, liii ff.

2. Ibid., I, S^1 14, p. 20. The references are as follows: Poems Part 1 - S^1. Poems Part 2 - S^2. Uranie - U. Flowres of Sion - FS. Posthumous Poems - PP. Numbering is as in Kastner's volume.

deep affection for the earlier object of mourning. Also the re-ordering and additions made in the later 1616 version suggest that this narrative of love was not rigidified by actuality. It could be changed at will to suit the dictates of the poetic imagination. This would only be possible if the love itself were imaginary and pseudo-realistic touches added in an attempt to vie with Sidney.

Seen in this way, the mixture of tones present in the sequence becomes understandable. Fogle is at a loss to account for real emotion so often expressing itself in conventional terms. This is especially so in the Second Part:

> One might expect to find expressions that came more simply and directly from the heart, but the imprint of the schools was too deep to be erased by even such a moving experience.[1]

No such excuse need be offered, when it is realised that the death, like the love is imaginary; while those sonnets which do suggest a real and particular emotion are also imitative, this time of Sidney rather than Petrarch.

For Drummond, although a Petrarchan and the natural outcome of the Fowler-Alexander line in Scottish sonneteering, clearly comes at the end of that tradition. He uses the stock Petrarchan imagery, finds himself grieving and incoherent like the Petrarchan lover and even imitates the 'type' sonnets favoured by the Italian:

> Faire is my Yoke, though grieuous bee my Paines,
> Sweet are my Wounds, although they deeply smart.[2]

But his modifications to Petrarchanism almost outweigh his adherence to it. His love for example is not always chaste. Ronsardian

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1. Fogle, p. 52.

2. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 4, p. 5.

sensuality often breaks through as in S^1 40:

> I die (deare Life) unlesse to mee bee giuen
> As many Kisses as the Spring hath Flowrs,
> Or as the siluer Drops of Iris showrs,
> Or as the Starres in all-embracing Heauen.[1]

He does not strive towards a purer love like the Petrarchan, but remains almost always a prisoner in the lethargy of the senses. Moreover his melancholy is not Petrarch's melancholy, the melancholy of personal frustration with self and lady. It is a gentler mood pervading and extending to all life. It is in some ways akin to the melancholy of Keats when faced with the fact that all mortality must decay from perfection:

> I know that all beneath the Moone decayes,
> And what by Mortalles in this World is brought,
> In Times great Periods shall returne to nought.[2]

In short it is the melancholy of the philosopher as much as that of the lover and as such may be connected with the strong philosophical strain traced in Scottish sonneteering generally. This is the fact which Masson highlighted when referring to his "metaphysical mood".[3] For he is a metaphysical in the sense of presenting a consistent world view and concerning himself with final problems. But only occasionally does he produce poetry which shocks through unusual associations or deserts mellifluous metre for sharp, staccato effects. His ironical position is that of being a metaphysical poet, but not of the metaphysical school of poets. Alexander with his Telesian attitude to life and Craig with his complex analysis

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1. Ibid., p. 36.
2. Ibid., S^1 2, p. 4.
3. Masson, p. 70.

of human relationships could be regarded in the same light.

In fact, a detailed analysis of the love sonnets proves conclusively that Drummond in his sequence is heavily indebted to both Fowler and Alexander. Detailed parallels will be given under "Influences". At this point more general similarities may be assessed, with a view to proving that Drummond's poetic superiority lies to some extent in linking the narrative sustained by Fowler to Alexander's philosophical depth. It is known that Drummond treasured Fowler's MSS and eventually presented the Triumphs to Edinburgh University. These Scottish influences however have been largely overlooked, due to Kastner's predilections. Without doubt, Marino, Desportes, Sidney and others contributed to what is mainly an imitative sequence. But it is Alexander who contributed the dedicatory sonnet. It is Alexander's Aurora who provides the first half of Auristella's name and it is Alexander who is addressed by his poetic nickname in S^1 46:

Alexis, here shee stay'd among these Pines.[1]

Definite borrowings will be considered later, but generally Drummond profited from the philosophical dimension noted in Alexander's poetry. His sequence like the Aurora is not only about a single love, but extends to life in general, expressed in terms of the Petrarchan convention.

Almost all the Telesian oppositions explored by Alexander appear in Drummond, although they are not so extensively considered. The love/lust conflict appears in S^1 4 and Song 1 and indeed infuses the whole sequence which depends on a balance between sensuality and

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1. Drummond, Works, I, 41.

platonism for much of its effect. The ideal opposes the real when the lady, for so long viewed as subject to decay, becomes eternal in S^1 42:

> Shee whose faire flowrs no Autumne makes decay,
> Whose Hue celestiall, earthly Hues doth staine.[1]

Reason is set against passion in S^1 2 and S^1 7 among others. Despair combats verbal fluency in Hawthornden as well as Stirling:

> Ah Eyes which only serue to waile my Smart,
> How long will you mine inward Woes proclaime?[2]

Reality and appearance merge when Drummond like Alexander considers the dreamlike qualities of life and concludes, as in S^1 47, that all which is termed 'good' is illusory:

> Loe, what is good of Life is but a Dreame,
> When Sorrow is a neuer-ebbing Streame.[3]

These parallels contribute to the similarity between the two sequences, a similarity rendered almost inevitable by the close relationship existing between the artists.

But the true closeness is one of spirit rather than fact. The importance of the Telesian parallels is lessened as they can be detected in the output of other renaissance sonneteers, although not so thoroughly dealt with. What Drummond and Alexander share is not so much the same philosophy as the same depth of philosophical enquiry. Drummond, like Alexander, moves from personal grief to grief at the general situation of mankind. Those problems which he purports to abandon in S^1 5, run throughout the series:

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1. Ibid., p. 37.
2. Ibid., S^1 21, p. 24.
3. Ibid., S^1 47, p. 42.

> How that vaste Heauen intitled First is rold,
> If any other Worlds beyond it lie,
> And People liuing in Eternitie,
> Or Essence pure that doth this All uphold.[1]

They both make the step from echoing Petrarchan philosophy to using the Petrarchan situation as a means of expressing personal philosophy. The ingredients of their outlooks are similar, but Alexander is more concerned with the conflicts of Nature, Drummond with mutability. This is why the tones of the sequence differ, while they share the metaphysical mood and the refusal to deal superficially with fundamental problems of existence.

Yet if Drummond shares Alexander's metaphysical approach, he uses Fowler's narrative framework and echoes Fowler's favourite themes. Like Fowler he opens with a group of sonnets considering love and its relationship to art (1-3), before tracing a clear narrative of particular passion. Like Fowler, he paints a Petrarchan backcloth, including the inevitable contrarieties sonnet (4), the vision of the lady as nature goddess (6), and platonic idea (7). The equivalent of Fowler's exclamation in TAR 14:

> I did afore bot looke, bot now dois love[2]

occurs for Drummond in Song 1 with the vision of Auristella by the Ore and his realization that until then he "had not felt that Archers Bow". Like Fowler, he is immediately cast into melancholy and confusion. Both appeal against Fortune and Love:

> Ten thousand wayes love hes enflamd my harte,
> And nature greivd me with far moe agayne;

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1. Ibid., p. 5.

2. The Works of William Fowler, ed. H. W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1913), I, TAR 14, p. 149.

> Yea, fortoun in my losses playes her parte,
> And with dissembled shawes protracts my payne. (Fowler)
>
> Ah burning Thoughts now let me take some Rest,
> And your tumultuous Broyles a while appease,
> Is't not enough, Starres, Fortune, Loue molest
> Me all at once, but yee must to displease? (Drummond)[1]

In each sequence this is followed by a period in which the poet's grief is analysed. Subsequently Drummond alters the order of his uncle's narrative, while retaining its most effective elements. The lady for example is set against a Natural background in S^1 14-18 so that, as in the Tarantula, she becomes a Nature goddess. One of Fowler's themes, the lady exceeding Nature in cruelty, is expounded in S^1 15:

> The Caves, the Rockes, the Hills, the Sylvans Thrones
> (As if even Pitie did in them appeare)
> Have at my Sorrowes rent their ruethlesse Stones,
> Each thing I find hath sense except my Deare.[2]

In his philosophical poetry Drummond echoes Alexander, but his pastoral sonnets are reminiscent of Fowler.

At this stage in the Tarantula, Fowler introduces the period of absence enforced by the plague. Drummond conserves that episode and instead introduces the first period of consolation, experienced by Fowler in TAR 41. The motif of Nature's greenness as a symbol of hope is taken over from the earlier sequence and chosen as the colour for Auristella's eyes:

> That to pin'd Hearts Hope might for ay arise:
> Nature (all said) a Paradise of Greene
> There plac'd, to make all love which have them seene.[3]

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1. Ibid., TAR 16, p. 150. Drummond, I, S^1 12, p. 17.
2. Drummond, Works, I, 20.
3. Ibid., S^1 18, p. 22.

The connection of Nature, greenness and hope is too complex to be purely coincidental, especially when it is certain that Drummond was acquainted with his uncle's collection.

From S^1 19 onwards Drummond begins to trace an independent narration. Wherever he flees his lady still controls him (19). Whoever sees her and does not love, is not worthy of humanity (20). His grief gradually deepens until in the pathos of S^1 28, he seems to luxuriate in his melancholy:

> Sound hoarse sad Lute, true Witnesse of my Woe,
> And strive no more to ease selfe-chosen Paine
> With Soule-enchanting Sounds, your Accents straine
> Unto these Teares uncessantly which flow.[1]

There is a finality, a pathos about this sonnet which marks it out as the end of a phase in grief. The period of striving against his own depression and the lady's cruelty is over. A new way out must be found.

The nature of this escape is at once evident. The poet who himself admitted to a love of gratuitous grief, descends quickly into self-pity.[2] He no longer blames weakness in himself nor the lady's rigour primarily. The main object of his attack is that scapegoat of moral irresponsibility, Fortune. On it, Drummond's attack is relentless:

> Earth .... now aske those Powers above
> Why they so crost a Wretch brought on thy Face. (S^1 29)
>
> What cruell Starre into this World mee brought? (S^1 30)
>
> If crost with all Mis-haps bee my poore Life (S^1 32)
>
> Let Fortune triumph now, and Io sing (S^1 33)

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1. Ibid., p. 28.

2. Ibid., S^1 Madrigal 4, l 8-12, p. 35.

This movement culminates with the list of mythological figures predestined to torment (S^1 34) and with the indignant conclusion of S^1 35:

> Of thee, nor Heauen I'll seeke no more Reliefe,
> Nor longer entertaine this loathsome Breath,
> But yeeld unto my Starre, that thou mayst proue,
> What Losse thou hadst in losing such a Loue.[1]

The determination of this conclusion suggests the possibility of a turning point in the drama. This hope is borne out by Song 2, which continues the fate motif but also suggests a yielding on Auristella's part:

> This is the Morne should bring unto this Grove
> My Love, to heare, and recompense my love.[2]

Now Drummond deserts both Fowler and Alexander with their chaste heroines, turning for the first time to Sidney's 'Stella'.

S^1 36-41 and Madrigal 5 all suggest that Auristella, after stretching the poet's patience too far eventually gave way. How else can one explain his watching her in bed (S^1 36) or the openly sensual imagery of S^1 37:

> And if those kissing Louers seeme but Cold,
> Looke how that Elme this Iuie doth embrace,
> And bindes, and claspes with many a wanton Fold.[3]

How else can "please" be interpreted in S^1 38, the "fruits of Paradise", the "sweetest Parts" (S^1 40), the "panting Soule" (S^1 41) or the "bared breast" (Mad 5)? It is tempting to see Craig as Drummond's mentor at this point, but Sidney is a much more convincing parallel. Auristella is at last living up to the second

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1. Ibid., p. 31.
2. Ibid., p. 32.
3. Ibid., p. 34.

part of her name.

Suddenly the sensual relationship breaks off and she is Aurora the platonic ideal again - distant and unaffected by that law of mutability to which all mortals are subject:

> Shee whose faire flowrs no Autumne makes decay,
> Whose Hue celestiall, earthly Hues doth staine,
> Into a pleasant odoriferous Plaine
> Did walke alone, to brave the Pride of Maye.[1]

To this lonely figure Drummond adds himself as a solitary counterpart, retreating to the woods for consolation, just as Fowler had done. These two portraits of loneliness prefigure periods of absence, stretching in Drummond's case from S^1 44-49. The poet, like Fowler, laments her departure and wanders distracted over landscapes previously hallowed by her presence (cf. TAR 26). It is at this point that Drummond chooses to evoke Alexander and make him a companion in grief:

> Alexis, here she stay'd among these Pines
> (Sweete Hermitresse) shee did alone repaire,
> Here did shee spreade the Treasure of her Haire,
> More rich than that brought from the Colchian Mines.[2]

The situation and the style are those of Fowler, but in apostrophising Alexander, Drummond at once admits his dual Scottish debt and implies that Sidney's influence is less dominant.

After the final parting of S^1 49, Drummond rounds off his sequence by anticipating the death that is to come. In S^1 50 he ironically prophesies:

> But (woe is mee) long count and count may I,
> Ere I see Her whose Absence makes mee die.[3]

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1. Ibid., S^1 42, p. 37.
2. Ibid., S^1 46, p. 41.
3. Ibid., p. 44.

The complex argument of S^1 51 finds comfort in the thought of immortality through art. Mad 9 sees death as "Sleepes Brother", while in S^1 54 a list of pains in Hell only provokes the retort:

> Of all those Paines he who the worst would prove,
> Let him bee absent, and but pine in Love.[1]

His own existence is a life in death but his faithfulness to the lady will never alter, as he suggests in Mad 10.

It is not stressed often enough that the conclusion to Part 1 anticipates Part 2 and sets up in theory those ideas to be tested in practice. For Drummond (like Fowler) follows his love into death and finally resolves his dilemma by moving allegiance from Lady to God. In one way his conclusion is weaker than his uncle's, for on his own admission, he had failed to:

> trace ..... right Heauens steppie Wayes. (S^1 12)[2]

He had not advanced beyond the first step in the Ficinian ladder, while Fowler had climbed to stage 6. On the other hand, when viewed alongside the conclusion to Part 1, the contrasts in attitude are striking. The poet who felt he could fearlessly face death, now moans against injustice and the fates. Allowance had only been made for his own death and he proves incapable of coping with Fate's latest trick:

> O Fate! conspir'd to powre your Worst on mee,
> O rigorous Rigour, which doth all confound!
> With cruell Hands yee have cut downe the Tree,
> And Fruit and Flowre dispersed on the Ground.[3]

Characteristically and in accordance with the ideas later expressed

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1. Ibid., p. 47.
2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., S^2 3, p. 52.

in A Cypresse Grove, he concludes that the imagined horrors of Death "enfolding (us) in his grimme mistie Armes" are worse than the reality. Auristella, being too good for earth (like Bellisa) has been snatched away by a jealous God and lives contentedly through all eternity.

Thus ends Drummond's major contribution to the Scottish love sonnet. With Alexander hs shares the tensions of love, the hierarchy of Lady/Cupid/Lover and above all the philosophical spirit. With Fowler he shares the Life/Death framework, the lady as Nature Goddess, the linking of Hope and Nature's greeness, the stressing of mutability, the use of an extended absence sequence and the conclusion in terms of a reconciliation to death and God. When Sidney's contribution is also considered, it can be seen that the sequence is derivative in terms of general structure as well as particular parallels.

Drummond clearly belongs to the Petrarchan line of Scottish sonneteers, but it is tempting and not wholly misleading to see him as the culmination of all three streams. His early Scottish love poetry is distinctly Castalian, not only stylistically but in its staunch anti-Petrarchanism. The sonnets to Galatea are good examples of this minor strain:

> No more with sugred speach infect my eares,
> Tell me no more how that yee pine in Anguish,
> And when yee sleepe no more saye that yee languish,
> And in delight no more tell yee spend teares.
> Have I such owlie eies that they not see
> How such are made braine-sicke be Appollo,
> Who foolish boaste the Muses doe them follow?[1]

The stark realism of these sonnets and their clearcut rhetorical

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1. Drummond, Works, II, 180.

form belong to the era of Montgomerie and Baldynneis. Realism too often degenerated into bawdiness as Stewart's 'hostess' sonnets bear witness. It is thus characteristic that Drummond's obscene verse belongs to his early career as does much of his open didacticism. In a way therefore his own poetic development mirrors that of the Scottish sonnet in general.

If the Castalian element is a background force in Drummond's poetry, critics other than Masson have noted his metaphysical tendencies. Ruth Wallerstein in 'The Style of Drummond of Hawthornden in its relation to his translations' notes his especial fondness of Marino as a model. Marino is conspicuous as the most metaphysical of early Italian writers and Drummond's frequent use of him is indicative of forward looking interests. Marino is characterized as:

> strongly intellectual or intellectualised, this intellectualization residing very strongly in his figures. Thus he sometimes compares his subject to a figure totally unlike it in imaginative connotation because of some likeness of function or mode of operation apparent to reason or fancy.[1]

Such an assessment brings Donne to mind, yet this sonneteer was high on Drummond's list of models. In this context it should be remembered that, in spite of early antagonism, Hawthornden came to appreciate Donne's contribution, although he always distinguished between the two types of poetry.

The intellectual-metaphysical note is not wholly absent from Drummond's love sonnets. It is part of that philosophical spirit,

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1. Ruth C. Wallerstein, "The Style of Drummond of Hawthornden in its Relation to his Translations", P.M.L.A., Vol. XLVIII, 1933, pp. 1090-1107. The quotation is on page 1097.

which forces the poet to pose and answer complex metaphysical questions. In Part 1 it is especially noticeable in S^1 5 and S^1 51. In the latter he begins with a simple statement that his life is so painful that death seems near. The Petrarchan sonneteer might have exemplified this concept with some mythological parallel and concluded that love kills often but never finally. Drummond however struggles with the problem on an intellectual level, while at the same time confining thought within an especially strict rhyme scheme. The conclusion, arrived at after an exhaustive analysis of all the different angles from which the paradox can be approached, is one of world-weariness:

> O happie those who in their Birth finde Death,
> Sith but to languish Heauen affordeth Life.[1]

All the intellectual tension, the incessant battle between thought and emotion, concept and form, essential to metaphysical verse is present in this sonnet. Nor is it the calm, ordered intellectual development of an idea favoured by Ayton, but the tortuous, emotion-convoluted argument of Donne. But such poems are infrequent in Drummond's output and it is important that while the metaphysical element be noted, it should not be over-emphasized.

The second element in Ruth Wallerstein's assessment of Marino, his use of uncommon conceits, can also be applied with reservations to Drummond. Seldom like Craig does he seize on an unusual mythological parallel, arresting the attention through unexpected associations. Yet an exception does occur in S^1 48, where he likens her lock of hair to the constellation formed from Berenice's hair.

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1. Drummond, Works, I, 45.

The reference is to the wife of Ptolemy III, who offered a lock of her hair as sacrifice for her husband's safe return. Following the logic of his metaphor, Drummond wishes to be similarly transformed:

> Yet Haire for you, o that I were a Heaven!
> Like Berenice's Locke that yee might shine
> (But brighter farre) about this Arme of mine.[1]

The extension of metaphorical implications was a technique beloved by the metaphysicals. It is even more effectively employed in S^2 7:

> My Knowledge doth resemble a bloudie field,
> Where I my Hopes, and Helps see prostrate layd.[2]

The parallel between the concept 'knowledge' and the vivid image is striking enough, but the various elements which constitute knowledge are personified so that they may be laid prostrate on the field of imagination. Drummond therefore does not solely rely on Spenserean or Petrarchan imagery. He is not only the smooth-singing hermit whose way of saying something always outweighs the value of the idea itself. At times he comes close to the metaphysicals in depth of argument or idiosyncrasies of association.

Drummond was always critically aware of the opposition between Spenserean and metaphysical verse. Although he clearly preferred the former, his few attempts in the alternative mode are controlled and not unsuccessful. In one sense therefore the three strands of the Scottish sonnet (Castalian, Petrarchan and metaphysical) do meet in Drummond, although he represents a culmination only of the second.

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1. Ibid., p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 55.

OTHER THEMES

Perhaps the most striking feature about the main European themes in the Scottish sonnet is the regularity with which they recur from poet to poet. Drummond is no exception, although he rejects the world system correspondences which were becoming outdated and gives scant attention to the four elements (S^1 30; FS 10). Mythology is an important element in his love poetry but when he comes to celebrate Auristella's death he replaces the deities with moral abstractions. As this technique is carried over to Uranie and the Flowres of Sion it can be seen that the influence of mythology on the Scottish sonnet, although still present is weakening. But all the other main themes are dealt with at some length. When discussing Nature he vies with Fowler in diversity of approach. It can be allegorically treated as in S^1 18, presented in list form: S^1 14 or observed in its minuter aspects as in S^1 30. All these approaches are paralleled in the Tarantula. Like Fowler too he values Nature for its curative purposes and praises the solitude of the hermit (S^1 43, 47) while he also uses the pathetic fallacy (S^1 15, 16) and allows Fowler's nymphs to invade his verse in S^1 22.

The variety of approaches here employed is carried over to all Drummond's main themes. One might have supposed that his wide reading would have produced profundity. Instead it breeds variety. The soul for example is at one moment seen in terms of the platonic reason/passion opposition:

Where Sense and Will invassall Reasons Power,

the next it reflects general and particular harmony with strong Boethian undertones:

> Sound hoarse sad Lute, true Witnesse of my Woe,
> And strive no more to ease selfe-chosen Paine
> With Soule-enchanting Sounds, your Accents straine
> Unto these Teares uncessantly which flow.[1]

In cosmological matters he may echo the Ptolemaic theory of a stationary earth and marvel:

> How Sunne postes Heaven about, how Nights pale Queene
> With borrowed Beames lookes on this hanging Round,[2]

yet move back to Plato and his "Rounds euer Whorld" in S^1 2. All this too at a time when his prose writings made use of Copernican ideas.[3] In his poetry, truth is always subsidiary to imaginative validity. This is why Aristotle dominates his library shelves, yet Plato his sonnets. It also accounts for different, often contradictory theories being advanced in the same sequence of sonnets.

The truth of this theory is nowhere better exemplified than in his treatment of fortune. In S^1 10 he equates the stars and fortune, using the pagan goddess Diana as a linking figure. Yet two sonnets later the stars and fortune are viewed separately:

> Starres, Fortune, Loue molest
> Me all at once,

while in S^1 29 the planets are themselves subject to destiny:

> Eternall Lights, though adamantine Lawes
> Of Destinies to moove still you ordaine.[4]

These are three conflicting attitudes, the first echoing Ficino, the second Pico and the third Valla. They were all current theories of

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1. Ibid., S^1 2, p. 4 and S^1 28, p. 28.

2. Ibid., S^1 5, p. 5.

3. See A Midnight's Trance, ed. R. Ellrodt (Oxford, 1951). This is an earlier version of Drummond's Cypresse Grove. In the introduction Ellrodt notes that Copernican ideas are added to the later work.

4. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 12, p. 17 and S^1 29, p. 28.

the day, so Drummond incorporated them into his poetry with no hint as to his own viewpoint.

The technique continues. Fortune is held to be a malevolent force:

> O Fate! conspir'd to powre your Worst on mee

and a beneficent one:

> Mee place where Fortune doth her Darlings crowne.

In S^1 33 he counsels man to fight against it till he is overwhelmed, but in S^1 35 himself yields without a fight. Belief in fortune is compatible with recognition of Heaven:

> The Heaven and Fortune which were wont to turne,
> Fixt in one Mansion staye to cause mee mourne,

but in PP 3 they oppose one another:

> Heauens hinder, stope this fate, or grante a Tyme
> When Good maye have as well as Bad their prime.[1]

The excessive use of antithetical viewpoints may in this instance be due partly to personal uncertainty, but it also confirms the poetic technique of using a wide variety of philosophical viewpoints for dramatic effectiveness.

Drummond echoes most of the European themes, and in those which interest him specially he echoes most of the interpretations of those themes. It is therefore impossible to attribute definite sources, though one can discern the ideas of Aristotle, Plato, Pomponazzi, Ficino and Boethius among others. Contemporary debate and personal doubts were probably more important, while he uses the various doctrines as techniques rather than judgments. One is aware of authors behind Drummond, but his 'invention' makes

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1. Ibid., S^2 3, p. 52; S^1 55, p. 48; S^1 3, p. 29 and II, PP 3, p. 174.

attribution difficult, while his scorn of coherence or truth renders it rather futile.

URANIE: The mysterious aura of melancholy, which many critics have traced in Drummond's poetry, is really not very mysterious at all. His major obsession is death. It recurs as a potentiality in the Poems Part 1 and as an actuality in Part 2. It is dissected in A Cypresse Grove and forms a starting point for Teares on the Death of Moeliades as well as To the Exequies of Antonye Alexander. Like Keats, Drummond lived always in the presence of death and like Keats his fear produced a hatred of the sub-lunar world and its archetypal characteristic, decay. It is this factor of mutability which makes Keats escape to a durable dream world, away from that joy "whose hand is ever at his lips Bidding adieu".[1] Drummond at Hawthornden in a way simulated this world of the dream, but he could not escape from the fact of death. In both Uranie and the Flowres of Sion he grappled with it, using three main lines of thought in his explorations: mutability, the medieval/classical anti-world topos[2] and religious consolation. These two collections may indeed be viewed as the poetic equivalents of the Cypresse Grove.

It appears that Uranie was an early probing of the problem. It consists of nine sonnets, three madrigals and a song, of which all but two sonnets and one madrigal reappear, slightly recast in the larger collection. The order of the sonnets is mainly retained,

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1. The Poetical Works of John Keats, ed. H. Buxton Forman (Oxford, 1944), 'Ode on Melancholy', p. 248.

2. The viewpoint that all earthly values are worthless and only the spiritual life to be cultivated. It is especially common in early Latin Hymns and Middle English lyrics.

but they are separated from each other by additions.

U 1	-	FS 1	U 6	-	Not included	
U 2	-	FS 5	U 7	-	FS 22)	(Order inverted)
U 3	-	FS 10	U 8	-	FS 20)	
U 4	-	FS 15	U 9	-	Not included	
U 5	-	FS 18				

Also, while the three main themes are clearly differentiated, no coherent argument is presented. If anything the anti-world topos is given too great a priority. This may be why, in the Flowres Drummond chose to omit the two most explicit comments on that theme, 'What haplesse Hap had I now to bee borne', (U 6) and 'What serues it to be good (U 9).

The first of these is adapted from Alexander's 'Ah, that it was my fortune to be borne'. Poetically it is of a very high standard, with Drummond making excellent use of assonance and word-echoing:

> What haplesse Hap had I now to bee borne,
> In these unhappie Times, and dying Dayes.[1]

The series of rhetorical questions introduced by varied interrogatives - what, when, who, why - also gives it a clear form, without fear of rigidity. The decision not to include it did not stem from its inferiority, but more probably from the particularity of its reference. The 'anti-world' topos in the Flowres is a general aversion to all temporality, not to any one era. Faced with an excess of sonnets on this theme, it would be natural to omit U 6 on the grounds that it evades the major philosophical problems. Death and decay are common to Drummond's day and the golden age, so that the escape here offered is unreal. Considerations of this nature are certainly more plausible reasons for omission than dissatis-

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1. Drummond, Works, I, U 6, p. 90.

faction with poetic merit.

The rejection of U 9 is easily understandable. It represents Drummond's tendency for explicit moralising at its worst. The style is stilted; ideas do not follow naturally, one from the other and the device of personifying moral attributes is carried to extremes. The following quatrain is among the least inspired of all Drummond's verse:

> For thee the Man to Temperance inclin'de,
> Is held but of a base and abject Minde,
> The Continent is thought for thee but cold,
> Who yet was good, that euer died old?1

The thought is banal; the couplet rhyme ineffective for the sonnet form and not used elsewhere in the sequence. The overall effect is of a poor philosophical pamphlet hurriedly versified. In rejecting this poem for the Flowres, Drummond showed good critical insight, while realising that it was too overtly explicit for a sequence, which worked mainly by suggestion and association.

The Uranie then is a sequence in the making. It should be regarded as a first draft for the Flowres, which got into print before stylistic alterations had been made or the overall form of the series been decided. Yet it shows already the division of themes to be developed in the 1623 version.

FLOWRES OF SION: The progression of the three major themes in this collection may be traced quite easily. Drummond, as well as making additions, transformed the disorderly approach of the Uranie into a coherent argument. The first three sonnets announce the problem of mutability. The proud achievements of men rise and

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1. Ibid., U 9, p. 92.

disappear, consistent with the one rule of earthly life:

> All onely constant is in constant Change (FS 1)[1]

This is followed in FS 2 by a list of 'human frailties' in which the use of verbs like "fading", "runnes", "passing", and "deuores" emphasises the thesis of decay as fundamental to the human situation. FS 3 begins with the traditional picture of mutability in a natural setting. The metaphor of the flower "spoyl'd of that Iuice, which kept it fresh and greene" is replaced by that of the pilgrim rushing blindly onwards into the darkness of death. The movement then culminates with the nostalgic desperation of the final couplet:

> Thy Sunne postes Westward, passed is thy Morne,
> And twice it is not given thee to bee borne.[2]

Using in turn argument, list and imagery Drummond has built up a terrifying picture of man's solitary, helpless situation in the face of an invincible ally. He may talk of "wisest Death" in FS 2, but this is not the impression conveyed by the first three sonnets. They question the very purpose of existence. Thoughts of God or final peace seem unconvincing appendages to fear.

Sonnets 4-6 change the emphasis of the problem, while retaining the mutability metaphors of journey and decay. A spirit of contempt for the world arises out of the earlier contemplations. The poet's first reaction to this world of constant change is disdain and a desire to flee:

> As I (wing'd with Contempt and just Disdaine)
> Now flie the World, and what it most doth prize.[3]

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1. Drummond, Works, II, FS 1, p. 5.
2. Ibid., FS 3, p. 7.
3. Ibid., FS 4, p. 7.

Death is still somewhat hypocritically regarded as a respite from misery in the image of the "silent graue", but this is perhaps part of Drummond's ambivalent reaction to the problem. Intellectually he may have reconciled himself to death, but those irrational fears mentioned in the Cypresse Grove,[1] are at the base of all his troubles. If death were really a comfort, then decay would be a joyful journey towards one's maker. The "weeping Raine-bowes" in a way sum up this dual reaction, for Drummond's own melancholy is joined to the cheering promise of God. His is the misery of one whose emotions refuse to obey the dictates of his formulated philosophy.

The 'anti-world' topos is again stated in FS 5, where he decides to focus attention only on God. The world is "a show of golden Dreames", cheating those who rely on its values. This wholly pessimistic outlook gives way in FS 6 to the first positive hope in the sequence so far. Using the 'book' conceit favoured by Marino and Sidney, he moves the inadequacy from the world itself to man's appreciation of it. His earlier spirit of despair arises from concentration on the superficialities of existence, the "colour'd Velame, Leaues of Gold, Faire dangling Ribbones", which decorate the book of life. Closer attention to the content of this book however, conveys a sense of God's order ruling everywhere:

> His Providence extending everie-where,
> His Iustice which proud Rebels doeth not spare,
> In everie Page.[2]

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1. Ibid., A Cypresse Grove, p. 70. "Death naturallie is terrible ... yet I have often thought that even naturallie, to a Minde by onelie Nature resolved and prepared, it is more terrible in conceite than in veritie".

2. Ibid., FS 6, p. 8.

The note of religious consolation is infiltrating into an argument till now dominated by metaphors of change and an attitude of world weariness.

FS 7 effects the final turning of the tables. Beginning with a picture of that changing, vice-ridden world of FS 1-6, it introduces the hope of Christ's incarnation as an answer to despair:

> When (pittying Man) God of a Virgines wombe
> Was borne, and those false Deities strooke dombe.[1]

From "the most hideous shapes Hell could deuise", we move to the promises of Christianity within the space of seven lines. The movement from pagan to divine is achieved as in Milton's 'Nativity Ode' by the use of the Christian theory of the cessation of the pagan oracles. It leads to a poetic tracing of Christ's life in strict chronological order, which constitutes the middle portion of the sequence. FS 8 describes the events before the Incarnation, FS 9 the event itself, and FS 10 the results. FS 11 tells of John the Baptist prophesying Christ's arrival, FS 10 of the early conversions symbolised by Mary Magdalene and FS 11 of his mature teachings - the parable of the prodigal son. This inevitably leads to the passion (FS 14, 15, Song 1). It culminates with the promise of the tomb (FS 16), the resurrection (Song 2) and the ascension (Song 3).

FS 8-10 celebrate the incarnation from three different angles. In FS 8 the emphasis is on the shepherds anticipating the event. Drummond skilfully recreates the sense of urgency with his repeated command:

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1. Ibid., FS 7, p. 9.

Runne (Sheepheards) run,[1]

while retaining all the Biblical associations of "Cotage Inn", "poorelie swadl'd" and "in Manger lai'd". The dramatisation of the event gives way to description in FS 9. This poem is rather contrived, beginning with a pompous apostrophe and including both tortuous constructions and an overuse of compound adjectives:

That Heauen-sent Yongling, holie-Maide-borne Wight.

There is a tendency too for conscious pathos to mar the sestet, while the repetition of "blest" threatens to be ludicruous rather than emphatic. FS 10 completes the movement from dramatisation - description - assessment. All God's previous miracles pale before this crowning achievement:

> But that thou shouldst (thy Glorie laid aside)
> Come meanelie in mortalitie to bide,
> And die for those deseru'd eternall plight,
> A wonder is so farre above our wit,
> That Angels stand amaz'd to muse on it.[2]

The world of mutability, vice and death has undergone a new change. It is now orderly, joyful and blessed through the care of a beneficent creator. All the major themes have been broached and partially developed. Their extension and unification remain to be effected.

The character poems (FS 11-13) continue the religious side to the sequence. Like Ayton's historical sonnets each is centred on a single figure, round whom a suitable atmosphere is skilfully created. The baptist is seen in terms of savagery ("rough skinnes", "desarts wilde", "sauage brood") and suffering ("parcht Bodie",

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1. Ibid., FS 8, p. 10.

2. Ibid., FS 10, p. 11.

"hollow Eyes"). At times he is presented almost as a beast ("some uncouth thing"), but one whose animal majesty raises him above other mortals. The Magdalene is surrounded by erotic imagery. Her eyes are "brandons of desire", while her locks remain, "of blushing deedes the faire attire". The images of sensuality and sin pile up, only to be contrasted suddenly with the "sacred Feete" of Christ dried by her hair. The conversion from whoredom to grace is thus paralleled by a sudden alteration in imagery. In FS 13 Drummond adopts the voice of the Prodigal, tracing his own sad story from "tables rich" to the degradation of famine among swine. The technique of first person narrative had been used similarly by Ayton in 'Mr Thos. Murray's Fall'. Yet the main feature which links the two groups is that of humour creation set against definitive background. As Ayton placed the bravery of Bruce against the calm, flowing Tweed or the desperation of Fawkes against chaotic fire/darkness imagery, so Drummond pursues the same course. The savagery of the Baptist is emphasized by the barren grandeur of the desert. The sensuality of the Magdalene is evoked against a background of erotic imagery. Even the confusion of the Prodigal is stressed by means of scenery fluctuating in time with his emotions.

The 'passion' sonnets are largely stylistic exercises. Drummond had made his most poignant comments in the two hymns of passion and Resurrection, so that their contribution was minimal. The dramatic approach of "Runne (Sheepheards) run" is repeated in FS 15, "Come forth, come forth yee blest triumphing Bands", but without the same sense of urgency. The device of underwriting is employed in the final couplet, while FS 16 uses a life/death rhyme

throughout, probably in imitation of Du Bellay 'Dieu, qui changeant avec' obscure mort'. But the final couplet of FS 16 does sum up the great advance in thoughout provided by the Christian sonnets:

> Dead Iesus lies, who Death hath kill'd by Death,
> His Tombe no Tombe is, but new Source of Life.[1]

Christianity provides an antithesis for each of Drummond's original doubts. It sets eternal life against mutability, pride in God's world against scorn, order against chaos and joy against grief. One might therefore have supposed that the tale was over, after the triumphant conclusion to An Hymne of the Ascension.

But Drummond is not satisfied. The theory of the Bible cannot be so easily translated into terms of personal experience. That is the development made in FS 17, the first of five sonnets, expressing a return to fear and doubt. This reversion to an original pessimistic state, after the fleeting comfort of dogma, is true to fact. General beliefs only partially satisfy and the arbitrary lessons of the Bible have now to be adapted to fit Drummond's own situation. Working backwards he begins to question the conclusions just reached. His fears have been calmed by belief in a beneficent God. Yet can one trust a divinity who clouds his intentions so effectively? That is the theme of FS 17:

> Beneath a sable vaile, and Shadowes deepe,
> Of Unaccessible and dimming light,
> In Silence ebane Clouds more blacke than Night,
> The Worlds great King his secrets hidde doth keepe.[2]

They are also the attitudes and images to be developed by Mure in his religious verse. Drummond is too earth-based to commence any

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1. Ibid., FS 16, p. 17.

2. Ibid., FS 17, p. 26.

mystic strivings but the earnest tone and frequent use of antithesis aptly suggest a mind cast into doubt after a period of near certainty. By FS 18 he is trying to stave off this reversal. If God does not reveal himself directly, surely he does so through his works? When one considers the glories of Earth, the joys of Heaven can be assessed by a sort of mystic multiplication. This sonnet is one in which the poet's secret fears of sophistry render him unduly emphatic. Drummond conveys this sense of doubt trying to cajole itself into certainty by structuring it on a series of rhetorical questions (3) and exclamations (8). In modifying stylistic techniques to fit subtle thematic changes he has few masters. Of the sonneteers, Montgomerie is the only one seriously to vie with him on this level, while his only peer in Scottish literature is probably Dunbar.

The process of destroying each Christian step towards certainty continues. If his hope is based on Nature rather than God, then it is a false hope because changeability is the keynote to Nature (FS 19). The theme of mutability has thus returned. In FS 20 it expands into the anti-world topos again:

> Why (worldlings) do ye trust fraile honours dreams?
> And leane to guilted Glories which decay?[1]

With FS 21 the attack on human vice recurs in the form of a condemnation of hypocrisy. The technique is that employed by Fowler in the Tarantula, a lengthy advance towards freedom, hurtling in reverse to captivity again. Fowler enjoyed a short period of escape from love, then slithered back to despair. Now Drummond

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1. Ibid., FS 20, p. 29.

has built up his hopes on the foundations of Christian philosophy, only to knock away each brick, which had formed the edifice. The thematic balance, so heavily favouring religious comfort, has in the space of five sonnets swung back towards mutability and contempt of the world.

Yet the period of Christian contemplation has had a lasting effect, only partially obliterated by the first accelerating, pessimistic reaction. What remains is to translate doctrine into personal terms, a function fulfilled in the final five sonnets. He thus begins with his own secluded existence at Hawthornden:

> Thrice happie hee, who by some shadie Groue,
> Farre from the clamorous World, doth live his owne.[1]

Using the pastoral imagery which he and Fowler employed so effectively, he finds in the "Birds harmonious Moane" and "the hoarse Sobbings of the widow'd Dove" contentment in the face of sorrow. His scorn for the world cannot be complete so long as pastoral retreats remain. His first solution, then, is in the form of a compromise:

> The World is full of Horrours, Troubles, Slights,
> Woods harmelesse Shades have only true Delightes.[2]

Like James I and Fowler, he discovers in the nightingale's song, undeniable evidence of God's beneficent hand ruling over the world. The bald statement of Christian dogma is thus translated into a personal response:

> Thou thy Creators Goodnesse dost declare,
> And what deare Gifts on thee hee did not spare.[3]

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1. Ibid., FS 22, p. 30.
2. Ibid., FS 22, p. 30.
3. Ibid., FS 23, p. 31.

These two sonnets present Drummond at his most mellifluous. Line flows effortlessly into line and the mind is constantly regaled with comforting images of greenness and order. The "clamorous World" is skilfully set against "smooth whisperings" and the "Zephires wholesome Breath". Drummond's eye moves skilfully from a general panoramic vision to focus attention on solitary figures like the dove or the nightingale. One feels indeed that the explicit comments presented in the final couplets are unnecessary. Like Wordsworth the poet has transmitted his knowledge of earth's grandeur and God's beneficence, with no need of "a remoter charm by thought supplied". Yet it is in these seemingly descriptive sonnets that he first comes to terms with the 'anti-world' theme.

In FS 24 he does the same for mutability. The technique is different - a lengthy conceit and application in the Craig tradition - but the result is the same. Again he finds comfort in compromise. Just as the plundering army always misses one treasure in its ravagings, so the law of mutability does not cover all things:

> Amidst that Masse of Ruines they did make,
> Safe and all scarre-lesse yet remains my Minde.[1]

This sonnet consists of a single sentence and it is a mark of Drummond's stylistic control that lengthy subordinate clauses do not carry off the sense. It is intellectual, where the two previous ones had been primarily emotional. This forms a pleasing contrast, while using the intellect to prove the intellect's durability. It employs the imagery of warfare, previously used to establish contempt for the world, in order to destroy this attitude. (Just as FS 22

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1. Ibid., FS 24, p. 31.

and 23 had used images of mutability to reject mutability.) On all these grounds it may be regarded as one of Drummond's most skilful poems.

With the lessons of Christianity now felt as well as understood; with the 'mutability' and 'anti-world' problems solved through compromise, there remains but one fact to be faced. That fact is death, the hidden instigator of all this turmoil. Now at last Drummond feels ready to confront it:

> More oft than once, Death whisper'd in mine Eare,
> Grave what thou heares in Diamond and Gold,
> I am that Monarch whom all Monarches feare,
> Who hath in Dust their farre-stretch'd Pride uproll'd.
> All all is mine beneath Moones silver Spheare,
> And nought, save Vertue, Can my power with-hold:
> This (not believ'd) Experience true Thee told,
> By Danger late when I to thee came neare.[1]

In these eight lines the themes of mutability and contempt for the world are for the first time related to their true originator, a fear of death. The third theme of religious consolation is withheld, but it burst forth in the final sonnet of the sequence. Death is:

> To have, more knowledge than all Bookes containe,
> All Pleasures even surmounting wishing Powre,
> The fellowship of Gods immortall Traine,
> And these that Time nor force shall er'e devoure.
> If this be Death? what Ioy, what golden care
> Of Life, can with Deaths ouglinesse compare?[2]

The development of the Flowres of Sion is from the despair of decay and world-hatred to a Christian victory over their source, the terror of death. Drummond achieves this progression by way of a period of Christian contemplation and temporary reversion into

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1. Ibid., FS 25, p. 32.

2. Ibid., FS 26, p. 32.

chaos. The major themes of the Uranie are more deeply explored and given the unity of consistent argument. At the same time Drummond's variation of imagery to suit theme, his alternation between descriptive and analytic approaches as well as the overall tonal unity make this his finest sonnet sequence.

INFLUENCES

Yet in Drummond the derivative tendencies of the Scottish sonnet reach new heights. Indeed almost all his editors have concentrated almost entirely on Drummond as imitator, with the result that other aspects of his work have been ignored. Kastner amassed a large number of possible sources, including Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, Marino, De Tyard, Du Bartas, Ronsard, Sidney and Shakespeare. To these G. S. Green added borrowings from Donne and Bacon, while M. P. McDiarmid expanded on the possibility of Spanish plunder, notably from Guevera and Granada.[1] Now, if Drummond fuses Castalian with Spenserean one would expect Scottish sources as well. And if Drummond has some claim to metaphysical standing, a case for originality co-existing with imitation must be advanced.

The first task is not onerous. Those general Scottish influences suggested earlier are paralleled by a number of particular debts. Indeed no poet since Montgomerie and Baldynneis profited so much from the work of his compatriots. Fowler is his most frequent creditor.

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1. Drummond, Works, I, xv-xliv and Notes. Guy S. Greene, "Bacon as a Source for Drummond", Modern Language Notes, XLVIII, 1933, 230-2, and "Drummond's Borrowing from Donne", Philological Quarterly, XI, 1932, 26-38. Matthew P. McDiarmid, "The Spanish Plunder of William Drummond of Hawthornden", Modern Language Review, XLIV, 1949, 17-25.

The day is done, the Sunn dothe ells declyne,
Night now approaches, and the Moone appeares,
The tuinkling starrs in firmament dois schyne,
Decoring with the poolles there circled spheres;
The birds to nests, wyld beasts to denns reteirs,
The moving leafes unmoved now repose,
Dewe dropps dois fall, the portraicts of my teares,
The wawes within the seas theme calmlye close:
To all things nature ordour dois Impose,
Bot not to love that proudlye dothe me thrall,
Quha all the dayes and night, but chainge or choyse,
Steirs up the coales of fyre unto my fall,
And sawes his breirs and thornes within my hart,
The fruits quhairoff ar doole, greiff, grones, and smart.

(TAR 22)

Now while the Night her sable Vaile hath spred,
And silently her restie Coach doth rolle,
Rowsing with Her from Tethis azure Bed
Those starrie nymphes which dance about the Pole,
While Cynthia, in purest Cipres cled,
The Latmian Shepheard in a Trance descries,
And whiles lookes pale from hight of all the Skies,
Whiles dyes her Beauties in a bashfull Red,
While Sleepe (in Triumph) closed hath all Eyes,
And Birds and Beastes a Silence sweet doe keepe,
And Proteus monstrous People in the Deepe,
The Winds and Waves (husht up) to rest entise,
I wake, muse, weepe, and who my Heart hath slaine
See still before me to augment my Paine.

(S^1 8)[1]

Both open with the image of night and deal in almost the same order with stars, moon, sleep, animals and the sea, before indicating the lover as a solitary exception. Kastner is wrong in seeing Drummond's sonnet as an amplification of the octet in Petrarch's 'Or che'l cielo e la terra e'l vento tace'. It is a close rendering of one of Fowler's best sonnets, proving again that Drummond's taste in shoosing models was impeccable.

The greenness/Nature/hope link shared by S^1 18 and TAR 41 has already been noted, but a further parallel may be suggested between

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 22 p. 156 and Drummond, Works, I, S^1 8, p. 7.

S^1 4 and TAR 12. Both share a contrarieties pattern, imagery connected with horses, a heaven/hell contrast and the opposition between reality and appearance as shown in the lady. Even the two 'if' sonnets, TAR 30 and S^1 32, are closer than Kastner's suggested source, Desportes' 'Si j'ay moins de pouvoir, plus j'ay de cognoissance', which opens on a philosophical note lacking in the Scottish versions:

> If never for to ioy nor yet enioy
> Ane spark of plesour in my fervent love,
> If .... (TAR 30)
>
> If crost with all Mis-haps bee my poore Life,
> If one short day I never spent in Mirth .. (S^1 32)[1]

The 'if' form had always been popular in Scottish sonneteering, since popularised by Montgomerie. It therefore seems unnecessary to cite inexact foreign models, when so many versions already exist in Scotland.

Both poets follow their ladies into death, alone among Scottish sonneteers in so doing. Each is rewarded with a vision (Fowler D 3 and Drummond S^2 Song 2), in which he is chided for excessive grief. Although Drummond's visitant is a spirit, while Fowler's is the lady herself, their arguments on the irrationality of grief and the lasting joys of heaven are identical. The situation is clearly Petrarchan, but Drummond was probably guided by Fowler's precedent.

Certainly he was inspired in S^2 5 by Fowler's D 5. In both the poet addresses himself with a view to determining the nature of his grief:

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1. Fowler, Works, I, TAR 30, p. 164. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 32, p. 30.

O thow myne hairt full fraughted with regrett,
Quhat can the lett to sunder not for woe?
Thow mynde also, with crabed cairs befrett,
With pains oursett, canst thow hir death forgoe? (D 5)

Mine Eyes, dissolve your Globes in brinie Streames,
And with a Cloud of Sorrow dimme your Sight,
The Sunnes bright Sunne is set, of late whose Beames
Gave Luster to your Day, Day to your Night ...
And woefull Minde abhorre to thinke of Ioy,
My Senses all now comfortlesse you hide. (S^2 5)[1]

Both "deafen Earth with Anatheames", as Drummond puts it, before concluding that Death has rendered future hope pointless. The development of the argument and similarity in rhetorical techniques are so striking that Fowler's sonnet must have been the origin for Drummond's plea of grief.

Despite this shared pessimism, both poets do find a solution finally, and characteristically their solution is the same, as a comparison between S^2 13 and D 7 will confirm. The lady as beautiful, yet fragile; God as anxious to restore her to a rightful place in heaven at the first opportunity; the poet's decision to move from earthly love to divine - these are the three major themes in each, although foreseeably Drummond develops the 'contempt of the world' topos, which is to play so strong a part in Uranie and the Flowres of Sion. But he ends as he began, following the narrative model of his uncle and adapting those of Fowler's sonnets, which stood up to his rigorous artistic standards.

Even Fowler's Miscellaneous sonnets were grafted into Drummond's verse occasionally. The best example is MS 5, which is the source of S^1 39. The conceit of a storm arising because the waves are

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1. Fowler, Works, I, D 5, p. 237. Drummond, Works, I, S^2 5, p. 53.

striving to kiss her boat is common to each:

> Lest wind and wave, enamord of hir forme,
> May thronge and crowd themselves into a storme. (MS 5)
>
> And yet hudge Waves arise, the Cause is this,
> The Ocean strives with Forth the Boate to kisse. (S^1 39)

as is the imagery of the poet's instructions to the sea:

> No Wrinkles nor no furrowes in your face (MS 5)
>
> Cut your white Lockes, and on your foamie Face
> Let not a Wrinckle bee. (S^1 39)[1]

Sidney's sonnet 'O happy Thames!' as suggested by Kastner is not nearly so convincing a source.

In the light of all this evidence it seems certain that Drummond's uncle was a major influence on his verse. But Alexander too had a part to play. He certainly read Drummond's sonnets in MS form as the two poets habitually criticised each other's work. Also the division of Drummond's sequence into sonnets, sextains, songs and madrigals echoes the division in Alexander's Aurora. When these factors are added to the philosophical similarities lying behind the sequences, to the name of Drummond's heroine and the introductory sonnet, it seems that Alexander's influence may be quite extensive.

Certainly some of Drummond's more daring images are anticipated in the Aurora. When the younger poet writes of his lady in S^1 47:

> To have your Sunne in such a Zodiacke

he may be recollecting the following line from AUR 37:

> I would the Zodiacke be whence thou dost shine.[2]

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1. Fowler, Works, I, MS 5, p. 251. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 39, p. 35.
2. Drummond, S^1 47, p. 42. The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, ed. L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1929), II, AUR 37, p. 477.

The imagination which allows Drummond to see his eyes as "great in labour of their Teares" is also suspiciously close to Alexander's in AUR 71:

> For eyes that are deliuer'd of their birth.[1]

One of Drummond's favourite, yet unusual epithets, "blubbered" is perhaps suggested by his friend in AUR 15, when referring to his "blubring pen". None of these instances is decisive on its own, but possible echoes of Alexander on a verbal and imagistic level recur so often throughout Drummond's poetry that some must be valid.

The opening sonnet of the Aurora may have been the original for Drummond's first sonnet. The octets with their concentration on the poet's youthfulness, his love of fanciful conceits and ignorance of the realities of love are especially close, although Petrarch is a common source. It looks as if Drummond began with Alexander's poem and then adapted it to provide a new conclusion. This technique he again employs in S^1 7:

> That learned Graecian (who did so excell
> In knowledge passing Sense, that hee is nam'd
> Of all the after-Worlds Divine) doth tell ...

This clearly echoes in phraseology and style the first lines of AUR 3:

> That subtill Greeke who for t'advance his art,
> Shap'd Beauties Goddesse with so sweet a grace,
> And with a learned pensill limn'd her face ...[2]

Yet Alexander is talking of Apelles and Drummond of Plato. It seems likely that the tale of Apelles and his creation of the Idea

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 71, p. 497.

2. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 7, p. 6. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 3, p. 444.

of beauty aroused in Drummond's mind associations with that other Greek, creator of the philosophical Idea of beauty. The sonnets are thus linked by their opening invocations and by the 'Idea' theme, but Drummond introduces a new hero and the theory of pre-existence. Such a procedure would be consistent with James's advice for imitation laid down in the Reulis and Cautelis.

A clear parallel exists between S^1 13 and AUR 10. Alexander had begun with the image of the dawn embodied in his mistress's name:

> I sweare, Aurora, by thy starrie eyes.

Drummond expands this image:

> O Sacred Blush impurpling Cheekes pure Skies,
> With crimson Wings which spred thee like the Morne.

Both then advance to conventional descriptions of her beauty, sharing the detail of "coral lip" and "golden lockes". This leads to a proclamation of the poet's chaste affections:

> I sweare by those, and by my spotless loue,
> And by my secret, yet most feruent fires,
> That I haue neuer nurc'd but chast desires. (AUR 10)

Drummond varies this slightly by extending the platonism to his lady as well:

> (Chaines) which did captive mine Eares, ensnare my Soule,
> Wise Image of her Minde, Minde that containes
> A Power all Power of Senses to controule. (S^1 13)

But only in the final couplet do the poems part company:

> Then since I loue those vertuous parts in thee,
> Shouldst thou not loue this vertuous mind in me? (AUR 10)

> Yee all from Love disswade so sweetly mee,
> That I love more, if more my Love could bee. (S^1 13)[1]

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1. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 13, p. 19. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 10, p. 456.

The evolution of thought up to this point is so close as to make it virtually certain that Drummond's sonnet is an adaptation of Alexander's.

Among other likely sources is AUR 72 which, like S^1 49, describes a final parting with the lady. The reluctance to stop gazing at her, the kiss which in each case "seales" the last farewell, the misery after separation are common to both. Significantly too, both poets stress the involuntary nature of the poet's behaviour:

> When I against my will thy sight forsooke: (AUR 72)
>
> How loth were mine (lips) from those delights to part. (S^1 49)

Drummond too is "constrain'd" by the Stars and expresses his impotence in a classical parallel:

> So wailing parted Ganamède the faire,
> When Eagles Talents bare him through the Aire. (S^1 49)[1]

Once more similarity in thought coincides with verbal parallels, making the possibility of Alexander's influence very strong indeed, especially as both share the sonnet form.

More tenuous links connect PP 10 with AUR 46, both of which recount Love's vengeance on the poet for scorning its dominance, while the opening of S^1 41:

> Is't not enough (aye mee) mee thus to see
> Like some Heaven-banish'd Ghost still wailing goe?

may have been suggested by the first couplet of AUR 20:

> Unhappie ghost go waile thy griefe below,
> Where never soule but endlesse horror sees.[2]

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 72, p. 497. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 49, p. 43.

2. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 41, p. 36. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 20, p. 464.

The platonism of S^1 20 in which the beauty of other women is seen as a shadow compared to the heavenly Idea of Auristella had been anticipated in AUR 19. The river motif of S^1 14-17 too is paralleled in the earlier sequence, notably in AUR 25 and 36, although no close thematic similarities exist.

Finally there is the example which Kastner himself pointed out. U 6, at least for the first seven lines, is based on AUR 11. In each the poet laments the passing of a golden age and his misfortune in having missed it. The first quatrain of each will serve to underline the parallel:

> Ah that it was my fortune to be borne,
> Now in the time of this degener'd age,
> When some, in whom impietie doth rage,
> Do all the rest discredit whil'st they scorne. (AUR 11)

> What haplesse Hap had I now to bee borne,
> In these unhappie Times, and dying Dayes,
> Of this else-doating World? when Good decayes,
> Love is quench'd forth, and Vertue held a Scorne. (U 6)[1]

Alexander's influence, though less obvious than Fowler's, clearly infuses Drummond's poetry. The Scots as well as Italians, French, Spanish and English are used as models.

To these may be added minor influences from other writers. Richard Maitland, with his three major themes - religion, contempt of the world, and mutability, was almost certainly a general influence on the Flowres of Sion, which shares the same thematic preferences. The idea of calling Auristella a "northern Phenixe" may have been suggested by David Murray's "Phoenix Caelia" (C 21), who:

> sought out the North to be her resting bounds (C 3)[2]

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1. Alexander, Works, II, AUR 11, p. 457. Drummond, Works, I, U 6, p. 90.

2. Sir David Murray, Poems, ed. Thomas Kinnear, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1823).

while Drummond's 'friendship' sonnet with its imagery of white doves embracing the elm may have been derived from Stewart's 'Of Amitie'. In the earlier work the dove friendship is represented by Nisus's affection for Euryalus, while the elm image is anticipated by:

> wyn branchis linkit growand greine
> About the stoupis of that kyndlie trie.[1]

Drummond relied on Scottish verse quite extensively and no fewer than eighteen debts have been traced. Each one of these fills a gap in Kastner's source map or replaces a dubious model with a better one.

It might seem that the Castalian mood has been vindicated only to cast the metaphysical mood into doubt. The Scottish/French influences of the Castalian line existing alongside the Italian/English influences of the Petrarchan leave little room for originality. This is true but it does not invalidate the original point for two main reasons.

It has never been suggested that Drummond was equally Petrarchan, Castalian and metaphysical. To combine the three in equal proportions would have resulted in a ghastly poetic confusion. He was primarily a Petrarchan and as such governed by the doctrine of 'imitation'. But this worked on the principle of profiting from the best models available while adding by-products of your own imagination. This creed had originated with Quintilian and been hallowed by a large band of later critical writers, including James VI. Drummond followed it implicitly. Indeed the hint of Castalian and metaphysical ideas in his verse is directly attribut-

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1. Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis, ed. Thomas Crockett, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1913), II, 177.

able to this allegiance. For the best poetry of all kinds was used as source material. He was naturally attracted first to writers who shared his private tastes, but his admiration for Marino and Donne resulted in their becoming models too. He had remarked:

> Donne among the Anachreontick Lyricks, is
> Second to none and far from all Second.[1]

As the best exponent of a mode of poetry not favoured by the 'imitator' Donne was still a much more likely influence than a poor exponent of a more popular type. Baldynneis and Donne; Castalian and metaphysical therefore play a minor role in Drummond's verse because and not in spite of his adherence to the theory of Imitation.

Moreover, imitative poets like Drummond did not dispense with ingenuity entirely. For them invention was as important as imitation, and indeed was implied by it. Pico, whom Drummond had read, summed up this viewpoint when he wrote:

> Correct imitators, "vying with their predecessors",
> seek to "surpass rather than follow".[2]

This was the same point which James VI had made in the Reulis and Cautelis when condemning translation:

> It will appeare, ye bot imitate, and that it cummis
> not of your awin Inuentioun, quhilk is ane of the
> cheif properteis of ane Poete.[3]

The examples of original metaphysical conceits quoted in the last two sections of the chapter come under this heading of invention, as

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1. Cited in Fogle, A Critical Study of William Drummond, p. 11. Drummond concludes, "They can hardly be compared together, treading diverse paths".

2. Cited in Harold O. White, Plagiarism and Imitation, Harvard Studies in English, Vol. 12 (Cambridge, Mass; 1935), p. 19.

3. James VI, Essayes, p. 78.

do the additions, alterations or omissions made to original sonnet models. Of all Kastner's sources, few are strict translations. This is the mark of the imitative poet as opposed to the plagiarist. It also determines that mixture of Petrarchanism (imitation) with occasional Castalian or metaphysical ideas (invention), so characteristic of Drummond. It leaves him free to copy and perfect the beautiful imagery or style of Petrarch, but also to indulge in complex philosophical argument like Donne. In short it is the prerequisite of Drummond both as the culmination of the derivative element in Scottish sonneteering and as the synthesis of its three main poetic creeds.

STYLE

In style as in all else Drummond profits from and synthesizes the examples of his predecessors. Even in terms of language this is true. Despite a heavy bias towards anglicisation, he often introduces Scottish variants. They are most noticeable in his earlier, uncollected verse, but also infiltrate into his love sequences. The "begouth" of S^1 1/6, the use of "whiles" in 8/7, 8 and the "sown'd" of 41/6, are only a few of many possible examples. His preference for English reflects the strong bias in that direction at this time, but his almost unconscious reversion into Scots at moments of drama reminds us of his origins and the traditions behind him.

Like Dunbar he was master of many styles, altering technique to suit theme. Perhaps too much attention has been paid to the mellifluous, Spenserean rhythms of the love poetry. He was also capable of powerful pulpit rhetoric, typical of the Castalians:

> What haplesse Hap had I now to bee borne,
> In these unhappie Times, and dying Dayes,
> Of this else-doating World? when Good decayes,
> Love is quench'd forth, and Vertue held a Scorne.
> When such are onely priz'd by wretched Wayes
> Who ...[1]

The Latin periodic structure, the rhetorical questioning, the triple phrasing of ll. 3, 4, the repetition of "when" - all these take us back to Montgomerie and the pulpit tradition. In another mood Drummond can use the abrupt opening favoured by the metaphysicals:

> Then is Shee gone? O Foole and Coward I!
> O good Occasion lost, ne're to bee found![2]

while he at times lapses into near colloquialism. Both traits are reminiscent of Ayton.

Finally, while practising the favourite rhetorical devices of the Petrarchans - paradox, antithesis and wordplay - he also rivals Baldynneis in sheer technical virtuosity. Like Baldynneis he is fond of underwriting, one of the more exhibitionist stylistic devices. He employs a complicated version of this in FS 15:

> 1 2 3 1 2 3
> For streams, Iuice, Balm they are, which quench, kils, charms
> 1 2 3 1 2 3
> Of God, Death, Hel, the wrath, the life, the harmes.[3]

The memory returns at once to Baldynneis's 'The heauen, The erth, The Hell' or 'Ane man, Ane beist, Ane plant'. In the same way, the restrictive life/death rhyme scheme of FS 16 may derive from Du Bellay, but it stems in spirit from the Grands Rhétoriqueurs. By confining himself thus and challenging his ingenuity to achieve a

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1. Drummond, Works, I, U 6, p. 90.
2. Ibid., S^1 23, p. 25.
3. Drummond, Works, II, FS 15.

poetic triumph in the face of self-imposed odds, Drummond is following in the traditions of Baldynneis's 'literall sonnet' and complex internal rhyme schemes. The Petrarchan sonneteers used rhetorical tricks but never so blatantly. In this Drummond looks back to the Castalians.

Often however in sheer logicality of presentation he bypasses both for the Caroline spirit. The development of S^1 19 with each quatrain concentrating on a separate aspect of his plight has all the orderliness associated with Ayton. Just as the latter restates his major points finally in list form:

> Or if to none of those thou'l daigne to come,
> Weepe eyes, breake heart, and you my verse be dumbe,

so does Drummond:

> That flie, runne, rest I, all doth prove but vaine,
> My life lies in those Lookes which have me slaine.[1]

The undeniable predominance of Petrarchan techniques in Drummond's verse should not blind the critic to his effective use of other styles. In this realm as elsewhere he draws from Castalian and metaphysical/Caroline traditions.

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1. The Works of Sir Robert Ayton, ed. Charles B. Gullans, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London, 1963), 'A Sonnet Left in A Gentlewoman's Looking Glasse', p. 162. Drummond, Works, I, S^1 19, p. 23.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

A close study of the sonnet's development in Scotland reveals three main groups of sonneteers. The credit for initiating interest in the genre must go to James VI and to his Reulis and Cautelis in particular. The court-centred group was largely his own creation and he certainly produced a short-lived renaissance of vernacular Scots verse. This was the period of Baldynneis and Montgomerie, when occasional sonnets surpassed love sonnets in importance. The Petrarchan conventions were for the most part ignored, being replaced by James's optimism or Baldynneis's moral lessons. Montgomerie however begins the movement towards love as a main theme, although he tended towards the sensual, Ronsardian side, rather than Petrarch's spiritual relationship.

The pervading realism and occasional metaphysical imagery of the Castalian love sonneteers soon gives way to the out and out Petrarchanism of the major sequence writers. Fowler's Tarantula is a conventional exploration of the Petrarchan situation. Its narrative framework, with a gentle progression into passion and then out of it again, makes it the Scottish counterpart to Sidney's Astrophil and Stella. Being the start of Petrarchanism in Scotland, it showed many weaknesses, notably unnecessary repetitions and a tiresome listing technique. Alexander's Aurora, while less close to the Italian original in terms of life-death progression, echoes the paradoxical Petrarchan philosophy more accurately. The overall standard of the sequence is much higher than Tarantula, while the

obvious English counterpart is this time Spenser's Amoretti. David Murray's Caelia on the other hand is a heterogeneous sequence, taking us back to Wyatt and Surrey. Working on the group/setpiece progression he is the first to express dissatisfaction with Petrarchanism by introducing new twists on conventional ideas or by use of unusual imagery. This anti-Petrarchan movement is strengthened by Craig's Amorose Songes which combine the narrative interest of Fowler with the philosophical enquiry of Alexander. Petrarchan affection is accepted in this series through the Erantina sequence, but it is now only one in a range of love situations. The realism and obscenity of the Castalians return with Kala and Lais, while the metaphysical movement is anticipated by his use of striking conceits and by his originality. Like Shakespeare, though using different methods, he succeeded in embodying the depth and height potential of love in a single sequence. The Amorose Songes, like Shakespeare's sonnets too, mark the end of imitative Petrarchan sonneteering. Tradition and imitation are no longer enough.

Ayton and Mure complete the cycle, anticipated by Craig and to a lesser degree by Murray. Their closest allegiance is not to the Elizabethan sonnet but to the Caroline lyricists and Vaughan respectively. A metaphysical spirit of originality now imbues the Scottish sonnet, but it is tempered by an orderly, intellectual approach, which prevents fusion of conceit with idea or forging of form by emotion. At times indeed they seem to be retreating to Montgomerie's pulpit rhetoric or Stewart's stylistic virtuosity as much as anticipating the later movement.

European themes and sources remain in evidence throughout the Scottish sonnet, stressing its imitative roots. The soul, fortune,

mythology and the world system are all treated at some length by the Castalians and echoed by the sequence writers. Only the Scottish metaphysicals show diminished interest. Notably Ayton dismisses the orderly system of hierarchy as inappropriate for poetry of uncertainty, while Mure reinterprets many of the earlier themes for Christian reasons. Yet even they are not free from an interest in the soul, cosmology and nature. Indeed it is the regularity with which the themes of Chapter 4 recur which strikes the student most forcefully. Some sonneteers have marked thematic preferences. Montgomerie, Alexander and Murray for example are most concerned with fortune and Fowler with nature. Others have idiosyncratic interests like James's in numerology. But all are aware of those idea patterns favoured by their sonneteering predecessors and use them frequently.

The development in source preferences on the other hand varies markedly from group to group. For the Castalian, French and early Scottish influence are primary. James VI and Stewart borrow mainly from Desportes, Montgomerie from Ronsard. All three look back to the makars, although James has most in common with Lindsay, Baldynneis with Henryson and Montgomerie with Dunbar. Other influences are present, but it is not till James went south that English writers make their presence felt. As this went along with an increase in Petrarchan influence the progression is from Scottish/French to English/Italian. Petrarch and Sidney are the main creditors in Fowler's Tarantula, Petrarch and Spenser in Alexander's Aurora. This period also marks the culmination of imitative trends, for it is the Petrarchan sequence writer who indulges most often in imitation or adaptation of foreign models.

As Petrarchanism loses its hold, so does imitation. Murray has fewer borrowings from the Italian, while Anglo/Scottish influence through Alexander becomes apparent for the first time. With Craig comes a marked weakening of Italian influence, his main sources being the classical writers and Sidney. But originality is now taking over, a trend confirmed by both Ayton and Mure. Only the latter's echoing of Montgomerie brings a suspicion of imitation and it is perhaps fitting that the Scottish sonnet should end with a recognition of its beginnings.

Style and language changes mirror the development here set out. The period at the Edinburgh court is characterized by composition in Middle Scots and by rhetorical tricks derived from the Scottish pulpit tradition. When James crossed the border and his Castalian band split up, so did the use of language. Fowler continued to compose in Scots, but Alexander and Murray began the courageous attempt to master the ruling dialect. Of all the 'imitations' embarked upon at this time, the change to English as standard was the most ambitious. None of the Scots succeeded completely, for faulty constructions and frequent dialectalisms betray their difficulty in adapting to a semi-foreign tongue. The worth of the Scottish sonneteers must be seen in the context of their ambitiousness. It is not easy for a Scot to produce a version of Petrarch in English as Alexander tried to do. The task is rendered even more complex by choosing the sonnet form with its rigid metrical and rhyming requirements.

The Scottish sonnet then moved from a tightly knit poetic group in Scotland to a loosely allied group divided between Scotland and England. It moved from the inspiration of the makars to periods

of Petrarchanism and metaphysical experiment. It moved from French and Scottish sources to Italian and English ones before emerging into near originality. It produced sequences to set beside those of Wyatt, Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare. It spoke in Scots, English and scotticized English, using the rhetoric of the Scottish pulpit, the French rhétoriqueurs, Petrarch and the metaphysicals. Why then is this period ignored by most critics?

It is not because of mediocrity. The Scottish sonnets in bulk present the same mixture of good and bad, imitative and ingenious as their English, French and Italian counterparts. In Drummond, Montgomerie and Ayton the movement produced three men of varied genius. The first unites lyrical quality to haunting melancholy in a manner suggestive of Lamartine. The second pounds out his message with the aid of rhetoric and a complete mastery of Middle Scots. The third possesses an orderly, ingenious intellect and the capacity for presenting complex arguments economically. To support them, they have the originality and erudition of James, the stylistic virtuosity of Baldynneis, the philosophy of Alexander, the ingenuity of Murray, Fowler's close observation of Nature, Craig's striking conceits, and Mure's powerful religious poetry. A fair proportion of Scottish sonnets are uninspiring but the movement as a whole augured well for the future of Scottish poetry.

The later sixteenth and early seventeenth century has been ignored or seriously underestimated by critics of Scottish poetry for a whole variety of reasons. Not least important is the failure to vie with English literature at that time. Because Scotland produced no equivalent of Marlowe or Shakespeare, this period has been regarded with shame and the critic hastily retreated to eras

when comparison would bolster patriotic impulse more successfully. There is no doubt that Scotland failed to profit from the Elizabethan drama era. (The turgid Seneccan tragedies of Alexander suggest that this was due simply to lack of a competent dramatist rather than to insidious Calvinistic repression.[1]) But the poetic movement of the day combined skill and innovation. Never again was a Scottish monarch to found and inspire a poetic school. Never since has European influence been so widely tapped. Seldom before have so many poets of solid secondary genius been composing together. The critics should therefore have concentrated on the gifts that were there, rather than trying to explain away those that were not.

This habit of matching Scotland against England has been a recurrent weakness in poetic criticism. It may be part of an inferiority complex. From this, the period under discussion has suffered more than others. For it is part of the complex to retreat to an unforgivable parochialism. This involves an identification of certain dominant traits in Scottish poetry and the concomitant disowning of those who do not exhibit them. On these grounds, not one of the Scottish sonneteers is wholly acceptable as a Scottish poet. All except the Castalians and Fowler are ostracized because they write mostly in English, but even the earlier group is condemned for excessive reliance on European or English sources. Such muddleheaded reasoning has been a vicious force in much literary criticism. All the sonneteers studied are Scottish

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1. See Alexander, Works, Vol. 1. This includes 'The Tragedy of Croesus', 'The Tragedy of Darius', 'The Alexandrean Tragedy' and 'The Tragedy of Julius Caesar'.

by birth. Those writing in English, did so because they had been forced to live in England. Their poetic medium betrays nothing more than a change in speech habits. Instead of retreating to the dialect of past days, they preferred to wrestle with the new speech forms they were mastering in London. This is a much more valuable, less hypocritical approach than that adopted by modern poets composing in vernacular Scots out of a dictionary, after that dialect has become less capable of supporting thought. Moreover the reinforcing use of Scotticisms, the echoing of early Scottish writers and the frequent flights of the Celtic imagination mark out nationality whatever the chosen medium of expression. The poet should use the language with which he is most familiar and let national traits take care of themselves as they most surely will. This the sonneteers did and the awkwardness of their English merely reflects difficulties in making the transition. It is a chronological misfortune rather than a poetic defect.

The objection to 'foreign sources' is equally wrong-headed. Above all it reflects a failure to understand the critical ideals of the age. 'Imitation' has little connection with 'plagiarism', a word not coined till well after the Jacobean era. It involves both invention and adaptation of the best models. To blame Montgomerie for profiting from the genius of Ronsard, or Fowler for presenting versions of Petrarch, is to retreat to the kailyard mentality in its worst form. By choosing their sources carefully, but avoiding slavish imitation as rejected in James VI's Reulis and Cautelis, the Scottish sonneteers enriched their own verse inestimably. They thus continued the outward looking approach of their period. This, ironically enough has barred them from 'Scottish Tradition' studies,

which usually list 'internationalism' as one of the characteristics of Scottish literature![1]

There is one further tendency in Scottish literary criticism, which has worked against the Scottish sonneteers. This may be termed the 'single author' approach. In its most extreme form it involves equating Burns with all Scottish poetry. At one remove it implies the view which sees Dunbar, Burns and McDiarmid as representatives of their respective periods, with all other figures cast into obscurity. This is the inferiority, which shows only the best, because it is afraid of the mediocrity which will be uncovered by a less selective study. It involves also a 'hero', 'anti hero' cult surrounding the chosen poets and blurring objective appraisal of their abilities. This is especially damaging for our period, because Drummond has been selected as its prototype. As such he quickly becomes the anti hero, damned with faint praise. He is the recluse, writing in English and plagiarising with impunity. By some trick of logic all these are unfavourably compared with Burns, the introspective melancholiac, who also wrote in English and has been rightly called "of all the great poets, the most anxious not to be original".[2] Yet it is Drummond, the second rate genius writing poetry which relies on a second person's inspiration, who has come to typify the age.

Most of the distortions inherent in this attitude will be immediately apparent. Drummond stands at the head of the Petrarchan

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1. Kurt Wittig in The Scottish Tradition in Literature is especially guilty of this error.

2. Alexander Gray, A Timorous Civility (Glasgow, 1966), 'Some Aspects of Scottish Poetry', p. 142.

school only. An accurate 'representative' account would require recognition of Montgomerie the Castalian and Ayton the metaphysical as well. Drummond does not outpace all the other poets of the period. It is indeed questionable whether he is the best sequence writer in the Scottish sonnet. Alexander has more depth of thought and not a little rhetorical skill, while even Craig with his apt conceits and complex 8-attitude approach surpasses him in many ways. My tendency is to re-establish Drummond in his superiority, but as the highest in a range of hills, not a pyramid in the desert. And with reference to the two other poetic groups, I would echo his own critical judgment and refuse to enter into comparisons on grounds of dissimilarity of technique.

On the other hand, Drummond's own poetry has been seriously misinterpreted. His finest sequence, The Flowres of Sion, has been given scant critical attention. Also to label him as a Spenserean, belonging to the English line of poets is to do him a double injustice. There are many rcognisably Scottish traits especially in his early poetry, while he did also make use of metaphysical sources, conceits and rhetorical tricks. The heavy reliance on Alexander, Fowler and even Richard Maitland forbids us to view him wholly outside the context of Scottish poetry. Indeed in some ways he represents a fusing of three major Scottish trends, though with Petrarchanism always dominating. In short he is no more an English poet than Dunbar is; in the sense that they both wrote when no severe gap separated the Scottish and English traditions. His first allegiance is to the type of poetic inspiration and only secondarily to nationalism. This seems a correct ordering of priorities.

In conclusion then, it may fairly be said, that if James VI's renaissance did not follow the course he had mapped out for it, the results were on the whole promising. The sonnet especially found new popularity in the hands of ten major practitioners and a few gifted minor figures like Mark Boyd or Robert Ker. The last national sonneteering movement, it naturally had a wider field for imitation and from this it profited. Yet in its wake it left problems. After so much adaptation and imitation, could Scottish poetry successfully embrace the originality and intellectual effort demanded by the new poetic creeds? Would the linguistic dichotomy divide Scottish poetry into two weakening halves? Could it successfully return to native traditions after its successful sortie into European literature? All these questions were still relevant at the time of Ramsay and Burns. Yet they first became apparent in the early seventeenth century. The Scottish sonnet arose out of the Italian, French and English movements, reinforced by the cult of imitation. It was in itself a triumph of Scottish literature, but it left that literature unsure of its next turning.

APPENDIX A

ORIGIN

The sonneteering movement in Scotland reached its height in the period between 1585 and 1620, although Drummond's Flowres of Sion and Mure's Joy of Teares did appear after the later date. Publishing dates aid us in tracing the later evolution of the movement. But the problem of the Scottish sonnet's origin is not so easily solved.

James's twelve sonnets in The Essayes of a Prentise and the five dedicatory pieces are the only group which can definitely be ascribed to a date before 1585. Of James's other sonnets only three more can be added to this list. These are the two pieces dedicated to Du Bartas, which were printed as commendatory sonnets at sig. Aiiij^{r} of Thomas Hudson's Historie of Judith (Edinburgh, 1584) and the sonnet which concludes the king's Admonition to the Maister Poete. As ll. 73-80 of the longer poem are used as examples in the Reulis and Cautelis, this work also must have been finished before the publishing of the Essayes. Thus fifteen of the king's sonnets at least had been composed before 1585.

Fowler arrived at the Scottish court just as the sonnet became popular. 'When as my minde exemed was from caire' is one of the dedicatory pieces in the Essayes, while 'The Muses nyne have not revealed to me' preceded Hudson's Judith. These are the only sonnets which can definitely be assigned to the pre-1585 period. With them we may consider Montgomerie's S 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. All these praise James's poetry, with the last four dealing parti-

cularly with the Uranie. As S 12 is one of the dedicatory poems attached to this volume, it must of necessity have been written before the printing date of 1584. Being the third of the group there seems no logical reason to suppose that it was the first composition and indeed all five were probably composed at roughly the same time. It seems that once again James's interest in the sonnet has influenced his courtiers in their choice of genre.

The 1585-95 period accounts for most of Stewart's Rapsodies, for Fowler's Tarantula, for most of Montgomèrie's Pension sonnets and for James's Amatoria. By then the sonnet form had achieved primacy, but 1584 and the Essayes of a Prentise seem to have been its starting point. The only sonnet which may have preceded James's collection and remains in MS is 'Lyke as the littill Emmet, Haith hir gall'. This is the one sonnet to be found in Bannatyne's 1568 collection. Yet it has been added by a later hand, so the probability is that it too is post-1585. The complete dearth of sonnets elsewhere in the Bannatyne strengthens the suggestion that the genre's popularity originated with the court movement of 1584.

APPENDIX B

RHYMING

The rhyme scheme most often adopted by the Castalian group was the interlacing pattern, favoured by Spenser, ABABBCBCCDCDEE. It was used by James in 50 out of 58 sonnets; by Baldynneis in 32 out of 33 and by Montgomerie in 46 out of 75. The king in his usual thorough fashion experiments with a different scheme in each of his remaining works, so that although 50 out of 58 conform to the same pattern, no fewer than 9 different forms appear in his work. His obvious preference for the interlacing rhyme was emphasised by Baldynneis and confirmed by Montgomerie. The master poet's Italian influence however produced 17 sonnets with the form ABBAABBACDDCEE. William Fowler too wrote most of his sonnets at the Scottish court and the Castalian influence is again reflected in 108 interlacing sonnets out of 129.

It has been suggested that the interlacing form was originated by Montgomerie and later adopted by Spenser. This view seems unlikely on a number of grounds. First of all, there is no certainty that Montgomerie was the first Scottish sonneteer to employ it. Before 1585 James had composed 15 sonnets, Fowler 2 and Montgomerie 5. As James seems to have been responsible for popularising the sonnet genre in Scotland, it is more than likely that he suggested a new rhyme scheme as well. This would be consistent both with his interest in versification and with his desire that Scottish poetry should be distinguishable from other national movements. The interlacing form may well have originated from the sixteenth century Scottish lyric, for in the Bannatyne MS at least

fifty per cent of the verses are composed in that form, while every religious work of an eight line length has the rhyme pattern ABABBCBC. Using this as the octet, it would be easy to derive the Spenserean rhyme scheme from native sources.

The subsidiary suggestion that Spenser may have derived his interest in the form from the Essayes of a Prentise also derives from confused thinking. If this were so, it would strengthen the view that James VI rather than Montgomerie originated the form. It also involves an unwarranted equating of composition dates with printing date. The Essayes did appear in 1584, while Spenser's contributions to the Complaints were printed in 1591. But as Stevenson suggests, the composition date of the latter was probably much earlier, and there is evidence of an interlacing sonnet to Gabriel Harvey, dated July 1586. It seems to me most likely that James and Spenser reached the interlacing form by separate routes.

As Italian and English influence on the Scottish sonnet grew stronger, so Italian verse forms vied with the interlacing pattern in importance. The courtier poets Alexander and Murray have only 2 and 1 interlacing sonnets respectively, both preferring variations on the internal rhyme scheme introduced tentatively by Montgomerie. Alexander for example has 80 sonnets with the form ABBACDDCEFFEGG, and 24 with ABBAABBACDDCEE. But Alexander Craig, torn between Scotland and England divides his sonnets almost equally between the two camps. The 'metaphysicals' however, returning in part to the Castalian ideals revive the popularity of the interlacing form, which accounts for 13 out of Ayton's 22 sonnets and 51 out of Mure's 56.

There can be little doubt that the interlacing form was viewed

as the norm for the Scottish sonnet. The frequency with which a poet uses it is a guide to the extent of his 'Scottishness'.

APPENDIX C

AYTON'S POEMS

Of the love poems in Gullans' edition, three have been attributed to other sonneteers. No. 19, 'Can Eagles birds fly lower then ther kinde', has often been considered as Fowler's. It does appear in Vol. XIII of the Hawthornden MS and Vols. XI-XIV do contain much of Fowler's verse. But the volume in question consists of miscellaneous papers bound together by Laing in 1827. There is therefore no strong reason for holding that Fowler is the author, especially as he often wrote out his own verse, and this sonnet is not in his hand. Yet it does appear in both of the Ayton MSS, and includes a triple conceit, one of Ayton's favourite devices. The statement of fatalism,

> Noe, noe, my fates are in the Heavens inrold,

also accords with his generally stoical outlook, and echoes the "fates decreete" of No. 1.

Sonnets 20 and 21 are more doubtful. Certainly Kastner had no doubt in attributing them to Drummond:

> There is not the slightest doubt that this sonnet is by Drummond (20). Yet we find it included among the poems of Sir Robert Aytoun in Charles Roger's edition.

The two poems again appear in a miscellaneous volume (No. VIII) of the Hawthornden MS, placed there by Laing. They are in Drummond's hand, but he was in the habit of copying out all sorts of sonnets which interested him, not only his own. Moreover they do not appear in any edition of his works before Kastner's. My reasons for agreeing with Gullans and including them under Ayton's authorship are their appearance in both Ayton MSS, the presence in both

of triple conceits and triads and the mathematical development of conceit, so characteristic of Ayton's work. Any ascription however must be tentative.

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